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Story, see page 14

PLO ARRANGES PRISONER EXCHANGE WITH ISRAEL

Talks about a possible exchange of Israeli prisoners captured by the PLO and Palestinian ..... prisoners between the PLO and Israeli government representatives are taking place in Europe, according to reports from **Newsweek** and other journalists, now confirmed by the Israelis. PLO sources insist that the negotiations are taking place under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross and not directly as some Israeli and international news papers have claimed. Negotiations are similar to those carried out in a previous prisoner exchange in 1976, PLO sources say.

After over a week of speculation following an announcement that talks were taking place by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli Foreign Minister hinted that contacts between the PLO and Israel concerning the issue of the prisoners are taking place in a speech to the Knesset January 2. At the same time Arieh Eliav, Israeli-Palestinian Peace Council member, named in reports as the Israeli negotiator, refused to comment on the news that he had met Issam Sartawi, one of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's councillors, to arrange the exchange. News agencies reported that the contacts started two months ago in Vienna and resumed on Monday and Tuesday, January 3 and 4.

With little being said officially by either Israel or the PLO, most news of the contacts has come from the press. Eric Rouleau, a Middle East journalist for **Le Monde**, confirmed that Israel has given the PLO the list containing names of Ansar prisoners.

Israeli media reports said that contacts had started after eight Israeli soldiers were captured by the PLO in the Beqa'a in September. Then, reports stated, Eliav offered his services to the Israeli government to conduct negotiations in the name of Israel with Sartawi. When he received a 'green light' from the Israeli government last October, he flew to Vienna and met the Austrian chancellor Kreisky. During the meeting Eliav asked him to intervene in conducting negotiations with the PLO over the prisoners' issue.

At first, reports said, Arafat demanded the participation of General Mati Peled, chairman of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Council and a leading Sheli member. Later Arafat is said to have accepted Eliav and appointed Issam Sartawi as his negotiator, Israeli papers claim.

Eric Rouleau said that the main result of the negotiations is the visit of foreign journalists to see six Israeli soldiers in a Palestinian camp. The prisoners exchange plan implies the exchange of the Israeli soldiers for an unstated number of Palestinian prisoners.

"There are two points, not agreed on," Rouleau wrote. "First is that the PLO believes that the listed . . . prisoners in Ansar is not complete, and the second is the dispute over the number of the Palestinians who will be released from Israeli jails." Rouleau believes that the number demanded is 4000.

The Israeli Hebrew daily **Davar's** correspondent in the US reported Sartawi as saying that no meeting was scheduled for Vienna, Monday, January 3. Sartawi denied that there is negotiations between him and Eliav but confirmed that the contacts occurred under the supervision of the International Red Cross Committee.

Meanwhile, Khalil Wazeer (Abu Jihad), FATAH central committee member, confirmed news about negotiations with Israel concerning the issue of exchanging Ansar prisoners for Israeli soldiers captured by the PLO. Khalil Wazeer confirmed that contacts occurred between the two sides through the ICRC.

Speaking in the Beqa'a, Lebanon, Abu Jihad said the PLO demands the release of all Ansar prisoners plus 2000 Palestinian prisoners from the occupied territories in Israeli jails.

SERGEANT GUILTY OF 'ILLEGAL USE OF WEAPONS'

Killing Condoned With 3 Months Suspended Term

An Israeli army court sentenced an Israeli staff sergeant to three months suspended imprisonment December 26 after finding him guilty on charges of the illegal use of weapons to disperse demonstrators. The case was brought as a result of the shooting dead of a student, and wounding of two at a Halhoul school April 29. ....

At the trial it was claimed that orders were issued to an unnamed sergeant, that his patrol should only shoot if their lives were in danger. The sergeant said he had told his men to fire when they were stoned while dismantling a road block. Israeli army court said that the accused soldier had failed in carrying out his task and went beyond the military orders which he was given. The court, however, considered the situation in which the soldier acted and issued a suspended sentence.

In a similar case an unnamed Israeli major charged with six soldiers of "mistreating" West Bankers told a court December 28 that he had been ordered several times to use force against the local population. He said that he had personally been ordered to beat up Arabs by the West Bank military commander Brigadier Hartabi, "but I know the orders came from higher up, from the chief of staff."

The major described two incidents: one at a West Bank school where orders were to restore order even if it meant using clubs. Students were beaten, he said. The second was at Dheisheh camp March 14 when, he said, he was ordered to round up all males between 18 and 25, take them to a school in groups of six or eight, and beat them. Mati Golan, **Haaretz** journalist, commenting on the incident, wrote December 27, "We have the following image: the accused soldier and his men were the target of the stones of the demonstrators inside a school. And in order to get rid of this situation, the soldier used his weapon illegally." Golan said the situation in which the soldier found himself does not require the use of weapons: and that if the court found that the accused was carrying out special orders, then he should be acquitted.

"The accused was sentenced to three months suspended imprisonment, which means that if the accused does not repeat his crime, this sentence will not be carried out. And the final result which concerns us is that it is possible to kill and injure West Bank residents illegally without receiving penalty."

Golan concluded that the views included with the court decision reveals the generally dominant atmosphere in Israel — unconcern about human life and the rights of people in the West Bank."

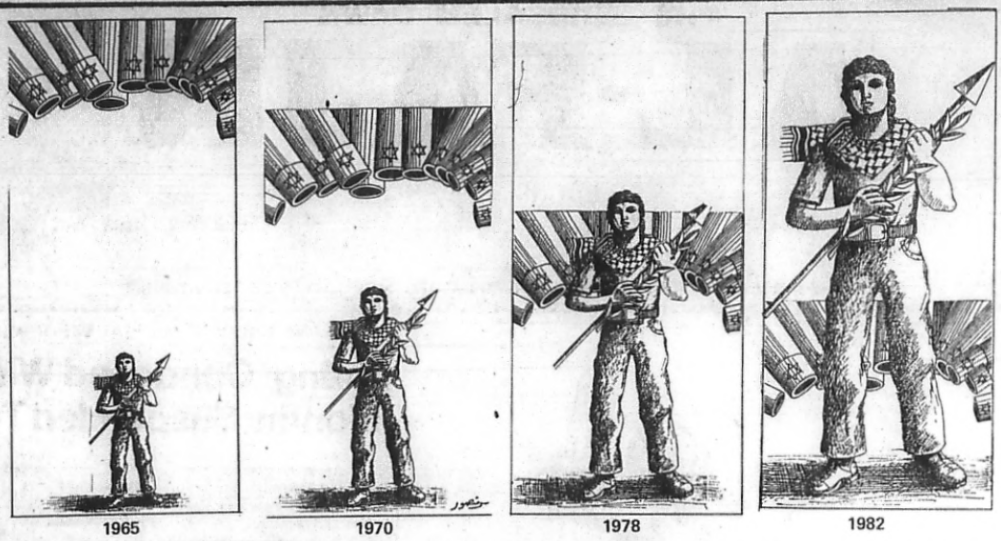
IN THIS ISSUE

A Palestinian art exhibit in West Jerusalem p.2
Lawyer talks about Ansar detention camp p.3
Secret CIA documents on Israeli intelligence ..... p.p. 8,9
Literature: Palestinian Tales for children. p.11
Lebanese-Israeli-American talks p.14
Jubran Shaqour — not guilty p.15
Italian medical team expelled from Lebanon p.16

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 140, January 7, 1983

Number of original articles submitted to censor 38
Number of articles totally censored out 5
Number of articles partially censored but used .. 6
Number of articles passed 27



1965 1970 1978 1982

PALESTINIANS CELEBRATE ANNIVERSARY OF STRUGGLE

January 1, the 18th anniversary of the formation of the Palestinian national liberation movement, was marked with demonstrations and festivals all over the diaspora. The major event was the annual speech Yasir Arafat, chairman of Fatah and the PLO, delivered this year in Tunisia on December 31. In it Chairman Arafat stressed the PLO's independence and denounced US Middle East policy describing it as "aggressive to the ambitions of the Palestinian people."

Arafat said, "it is impossible to create a durable peace in the region by ignoring Palestinian rights." He also expressed his regret at the ineffectiveness and paralysis of the Arab world during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Arafat asserted that loyalty to the Palestinian cause is the only criteria for Arab national identity.

Meanwhile, WAFA, the Palestinian News Agency, reported that celebration of the anniversary in Aden, Democratic Yemen, has been postponed until the end of January as the PLO joins in mourning the death of 2800 people in the recent earthquake in North Yemen.

In Algeria, Palestinian spokesmen said during celebrations that the Palestinian forces have reorganized themselves and benefited from the lessons of the war in West Beirut. "The restoration of Palestinian power so rapidly indicates that the Palestinian revolution will resume the struggle, stronger than before," said one spokesman.

Palestinian sources close to the PLO leadership in Tunisia confirmed that the PLO has finished establishing a new strategy which takes into consideration the geographical and military situation of the Palestinians. These sources added that the military blows to the PLO will accompany political pressure.

In his Tunis speech Yasir Arafat had evaluated the potential economic and political-strategic abilities of the PLO, but said that the Arab nation "lacks something important — the political decision to fight." Arafat pointed out that Palestinians have carried out 961 military operations in South Lebanon in the last three months. The results of these operations were 340 killed or injured and 43 armoured cars destroyed in addition to the destruction of the Israeli military headquarters in Tyre, he said.

Perhaps the most significant January 1 demonstration took place in Beirut. According to the BBC, 70 people from Sabra and Shatila refugee camp marked the day with a march. Despite attempts by the Lebanese security forces to break up the march and keep reporters away, the BBC reporter said, the marchers successfully held the first Palestinian demonstration since the war.

January 1, 1965, the formal date for the start of the modern Palestinian revolution is also the date Fatah's formation was officially announced. The announcement came after the military operation, code-named 'Ailaboun', was carried out by a group of Palestinians, led by Yasir Arafat, the present PLO chairman and the main founder of Fatah.

Through its 18 year history Fatah has been the major Palestinian organization and achieved many political and diplomatic gains, winning international sympathy for the Palestinian struggle for the right of self-determination (Translations: Al Fajr, Al Shanb, 1, 3, 1,1983)

Syria Gets SAM-5s; Israel Upset

An Israeli military spokesman issued a warning to Syria, January 4, concerning what was described as a "military build-up endangering the balance of power in the region." Meanwhile several Israeli military personnel were killed or taken prisonor wounded in a number of military attacks carried out during the past week.

The Israeli military spokesman's warning was issued in relation to reports that Syria is currently in the process of building two Sam-5 anti-aircraft missile batteries. The weapon is regarded as the most sophisticated anti-aircraft weapon that has been introduced to the area in recent years. It has an air-range of 29 kilometers, and it also can be used as a surface to surface weapon with a range of 250 kilometers.

In the Israeli-occupied south Lebanon, severe weather has not stopped military attacks against the Israeli army.

One Israeli officer with a rank of artillery captain was killed, and another officer wounded. Two soldiers were also apprehended by commandos on January 4, from an area behind the Israeli lines.

Earlier on January 3, an Israeli military spokesman announced that five Katyusha rockets, aimed at northern Israeli settlements were discovered in South Lebanon. The incident caused alarm in the Israeli army which was put on a high state of alert in order to prevent the occurence of any military operations against the Lebanese and Israeli delegations who meet on Thursday in Kiryat Shemona.

Two Israelis were kidnapped and a third killed, January 4, in the Jiye region south of Beirut.

Elsewhere in Lebanon, news reports from the embattled Shouf Mountains said that there were only minor clahses between the Phalangists and the Progressive Socialist Party forces. Lebanese state radio said that the relative quiet was due to an Israeli warning to both the Phalangists and the PSP that they would take severe measures against them" if they jeopardize the Israeli-Lebanese talks.

Palestinian-Israeli Art Exhibit Opens In West Jerusalem

Over 50 die-hard art fans braved the freezing Jerusalem weather in order to attend the opening ceremonies of the Israeli-Palestinian art exhibit held in the Artists House in West Jerusalem on January 1. The art exhibit which featured prominent Palestinian and progressive Israeli artists is on the third leg of a unique tour that began in Haifa and travelled to Nazareth before coming to Jerusalem. The exhibition is titled "Honoring West Bank Artists," Next stop is Bir Zeit University.

Yaacov Gil, a member of the Israeli Knesset and a member of the Knesset's education committee, opened the ceremony, calling the exhibit "unique and the first of its kind in 50 years." He added that art which represents the true feelings of any people must have an effect on the political situation. Ambiguously refering to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict Gil said that the "problem must be solved by those party to it," avoiding any direct referrence to the PLO. Gil explained that in his role in the education committee of the Knesset he will keep what he saw in the exhibit in mind while assisting in drafting a new law concerning museums.

Leading Palestinian artist Suleiman Mansour spoke on behalf of the West Bank artists singling out special thanks to Israeli artist Gershon Kneispel, Haifa artist Abed Abadi and Jerusalemite head of the artists union Hedva Shemesh for persisting to make the exhibit a reality. Mansour, pointing to controversies over the title of the exhibit, explained the Palestinian artists' desire for "just peace which would guarantee the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent state next to Israel." The 32-year-old West Bank artist said that the exhibit, "gives us an opportunity to freely exhibit our works, something which we have been barred from in the past few years in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We are asked to stay away from social art." Prominent Israeli artist Gershon Kneispel, echoed Mansour's words saying that "politics should not be a stumbling block in the path of art." Kneispel confirmed that the exhibit is held in West Jerusalem because it is not allowed in the occupied territories.

With Jerusalem snow-covered on New Year's day an expected large turn-out of Israeli journalists did not materialise. Hedva Shemesh, head of the artists union, told **Al Fajr** that Israeli journalists, art fans and critics will nevertheless have a chance to see and write about "this unique exhibit," which will last for three weeks. Shemesh is very enthusiastic about the exhibit and is trying to arrange for a Palestinian-Israeli artists symposium before the end of the exhibit. She is also hoping that the exhibit can tour in Europe and possibly some Arab countries.

The exhibit is being held in the Artists House, Shmuel Hanagid 12, is open between 9:00 am — 1:00 pm and 4:00 — 7:00 pm and will continue through January 17.

LAWYER SLAMS SECRECY SURROUNDING ANSAR

"The subject of the prisoners of the Ansar detention camp is a political and not legal problem for the Israelis," Walid Fahoum, a lawyer from Nazareth, said in the course of a lecture he gave at the Israeli Revolutionary Communist League Club in Tel Aviv December 25. Fahoum, who with lawyers Lea Tsemel and Muhammad Na'amneh, represents several of the Ansar detainees, explained that the Israelis are not holding the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in South Lebanon according to the British Mandate Emergency Defense Regulations or the IV Geneva Convention. He remarked that the Israelis are in a mess in connection to the detainees' case. "They cannot provide clear legal grounds on which the detentions are based," he said. Fahoum added that the Israelis claim that prisoners are held under the "regulations (issued by) the commander of the northern district."

In connection to the number of prisoners, he concluded from reading the newspapers that it is not static. "Either the authorities are not giving the accurate number regarding the number of the Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails, or the number undergoes continuous change as a result of constant arrests and releases." (Fahoum was speaking before the authorities released an official figure of 6043 still in detention).

At the beginning, he explained, the Israeli press said about 6000, and sometime 9000 people were being held. **The Jerusalem Post** reported that there were 4700 detainees in one story, "but in the same issue of December 15, they gave a figure of 5000 prisoners."

Fahoum attributed the inaccurracy to the fact that the Israelis are not allowing reporters to visit the detention camps. "Even (the location of) Ansar camp which extends over miles is not exactly known. Some say it is 10 kilometers west of Nabatiyya," he said. He also revealed that Ansar camp is not the only detention camp set up by Israel; and that there is another one in South Lebanon and that "there are or there were detention camps in Israel."

Walid Fahoum speaks in Tel Aviv on Ansar

He pointed out that people passing by Meggido jail, 15 kilometers east of Haifa, can see a camp containing blindfolded prisoners.

Returning to Ansar itself, Fahoum referred to the two uprisings by prisoners in the last three months which he said were to protest the "appalling and inhuman conditions." He noted that according to Israeli reports, the leader of the Fatah youth movement who was captured by the Israeli forces during the invasion was instrumental in leading the protest. Fahoum noted that this same individual was introduced on the Arab-language Israeli radio station more than three times as if he renounced armed struggle.

The lawyer also noted that the PLO considers the Israelis who were captured by the Palestinian forces as prisoners-of-war. On the other hand, he said, Israel considers the Palestinian fighters it holds as "terrorists." He affirmed that the IV Geneva Convention, which Israel has signed, should also be applied to members of resistance movements.

In the latest edition of **The IDF Journal**, a new Israeli army publication in English, Major Dam Laish claimed in an article on Ansar that prisoners are receiving treatment similar to that specified in the IV Geneva Convention. He also wrote, "The camp is open to visiting jounalists throughout the day and newsmen (sic) may interview detainees on camp grounds."

The only known interview to appear with prisoners appeared in the December edition of **The Middle East** — that was conducted surreptitiously when a detainee was left close to a journalist for a few moments when an Israeli army escort was called away.

According to this table, released to the press by Israel in the US, there are 6,043 prisoners being held by Israel as a result of the June war. It is the only known comprehensive list avaliable. It is not necessarily accurate, however. An article on Ansar in **The IDF Journal** purports to list nationalities of captured prisoners. It does not include the 'Palestinian Arabs,' Algeria, 'Residents of the Administered Territories,' Canada or the Philippines of those categories which still include prisoners.

Country of Origin	Apprehended	Remaining in Detention
Palestinian Arabs	5,347	3,823
Lebanon	2,140	1,063
Syria	504	386
Iraq	39	37
Jordan	79	71
Egypt	147	16
Morocco	5	5
Tunisia	9	8
Algeria	4	2
Libya	4	4
Turkey	29	25
Pakistan	62	61
Somalia	9	8
Bangladesh	428	423
Yemen	98	4
Niger	3	3
Nigeria	6	6
Residents of Administered Terr.	9	9
Ceylon	23	2
Canada	2	1
India	57	56
Iran	8	8
Saudi Arabia	2	2
Abu Dhabi	1	1
Philippines	1	1
Mali	4	4
Sudan	10	10
Mauritania	3	3
Senegal	1	1
Ivory Coast	1	—
Norway	2	—
France	2	—
Austria	1	—
	9,040	6,043

MASS ROUND-UP OF WEST BANK PROFESSIONALS

The Israeli military authorities sent notices December 30 to hundreds of Palestinian residents in various West Bank cities ordering them to go to the military headquarters in their cities. On the next day all those summoned were taken to Fara'a prison compound near Jenin, where most of them remain. Meanwhile the arrest campaign continued with nearly 150 residents arrested from Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Beit Jala, Dheisheh, Khader, and Arqoubs villages.

The arrests campaign was also carried out in Hebron, Nablus and Tulkarm. Among the detainees were Labour Union activists, journalists, writers and poets.

More than 300 detainees were held in a stable in Fara'a prison known as the "Milson Detention Camp," (after former West Bank 'civil administrator' Menachem Milson — eds) in inhuman conditions.

In Jalazoun refugee camp, Israeli soldiers carried out another arrest campaign, January 3, and took an unknown number to the Ramallah prison compound, where they remain.

A similar compaign was also carried out early last week in the Gaza Strip. Eleven Palestinian residents from Khan Yunis were taken in. At about the same time, two students from Jaffa secondary school in Gaza were arrested.

In other related news, al-Ilmiyeh (scientific) bookshop in Gaza was ordered closed for six months.

Schools also came under the Israeli authorities hammer. The technical school in Nablus was ordered closed for a week, joining Ma'azouz Al-Masri, Qadri Tukan and Malek Talal schools in Nablus which were closed down two weeks ago. (Translation: Al Talia, 6. 1. 83)

HUNGER STRIKE IN JENIN PRISON

Israeli daily **Ha'aretz** reported January 5 that political prisoners in Jenin have been on hunger strike for the past three days, to protest conditions and maltreatment by prison guards.

Prisoners' families reported that they will continue their strike until authorities agree to look into their complaints and improve conditions.

ANOTHER NEW SETTLEMENT

Israeli settlers began, December 28, building a new settlement on Maidarous mountain, west of the village of Ain Qinia in the Ramallah area. Scores of Israeli soldiers were seen guarding bulldozers preparing the land for the settlement. The 300 dunum plot of land on which the settlement is being placed is a forest planted by the Jordanian government. Originally, the land was owned collectively by residents form the villages of Ain Arik, Ain Qinia, and Deir Ibzi'. The Jordanian government expropriated it for the forest.

The Israeli authorities had apparently used the Jordanian laws as a pretext to transfer the land to the settlers.

The Jordanian laws, legal analysts say, state that government owned land is to be used for public purposes. In this case, they add, the public interest is building a settlement for Israelis thus contradicting the Jordanian laws which specify that the public interest is the interest of the local inhabitants.

The construction of the settlement has caused alarm among Palestinian land owners in the area. However according to Jerusalem lawyer Abed Asali anyone taking out a court case against the establishment of the settlement would lose.

PALESTINIAN MUSIC/SYMBOLS ILLEGALISED

Jerusalem police in the past two weeks have captured a large quanitity of Palestinian material and prepared court proceedings against seven men, including a minor, on charges of possession and distributing the material, Israeli police said.

Jerusalem police captured the material in about 15 bookshops and news stands in East Jerusalem, police said. The material included Palestinian flags, Sabra and Shatila calendars, audio cassettes containing nationalist Palestinian songs and T-shirts with Palestinian flags.

An investigation revealed that most of the material was printed and prepared in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. The T-shirts, however, were printed in a Jewish-owned textile printing factory in Giv'at Shaul. The owner claimed he did not know what he was printing, and was released, police said (from the Jerusalem Post)

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Our Roots Are Deep In The Ground

A new calendar year provides us a convenient opportunity to size up the past 12 months and project our fears and hopes for the next measurable chunk of time – 1983. . . . . . .

The Dawn

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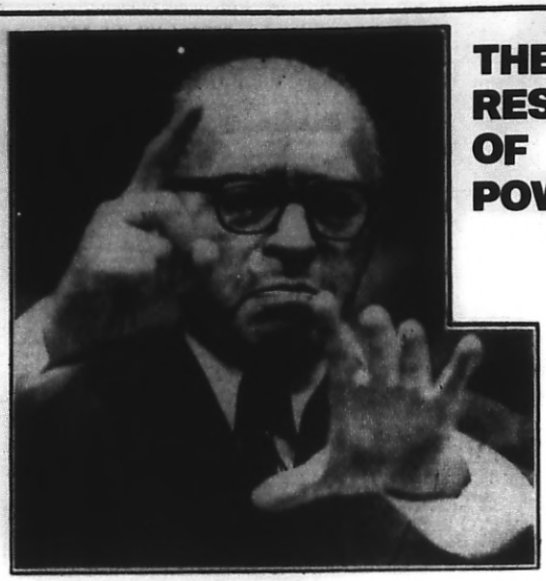


THE RESULTS OF POWER

By Ghassan Bishara
Washington DC Correspondent

An issue which has been debated for some time was answered by Israel's invasion of Lebanon: whether a country is able to use force as the only means to pursue its foreign policy objectives, and succeed. To some of those debating this issue, Israel's invasion of Lebanon provided the answer they were looking for. Power, military power in this case, was used to its utmost limits, and the desired results were more or less achieved.

They were more or less achieved because, as some Middle East specialists believe, Israel's first objective was simply to physically eliminate the PLO leaders and fighters and, short of that, to force them to leave West Beirut, running for their lives, in disarray and humiliation. None of that took place, but nevertheless, the PLO did leave West Beirut and its fighters and leaders are dispersed among 10 countries of the Middle East, a result of Israel's military supremacy.

It is the lack of the very same power on the Arab side which, those Middle East experts believe, is the incentive for Israel to behave the way it has. The region lacks military balance, which induces Menachem Begin, in particular, to use his country's power to further his ideological goals. Begin wrote in his book, **The Revolt**, that the Jewish people were treated as they were in Europe because they were perceived as defenseless. "The world," Begin wrote, "does not pity the slaughtered. It only respects those who fight . . . we fight, therefore we are." The Arab regimes are providing Arab land and people as the testing grounds for Begin's theory.

With confidence in itself militarily and its willingness to use power as it wishes, a West Bank intellectual told us, it is no secret that Israel, having officially neutralized two Arab countries – the most populated and powerful, Egypt, and the most democratically active, Lebanon – will soon direct its attention to another area, most likely Jordan. With the only world power with any ability to influence Israel's behavior standing by, Jordan's Hussein is said to be genuinely tense about such a prospect.

Arabs have emphasized the positive aspects of US President Ronald Reagan's September 1 plan, a step which would have created shocks in the world before Begin's government came to power. Begin, despite this, some US officials believe, will kill the plan through his use of the effective Israel veto – settlements on the occupied territories.

The Reagan administration's inability to bring about the freezing of Israeli settlement activities in the territories, as called for in his September 1 plan, is an embarrassment to Reagan and a major stumbling block for the entry of King Hussein into the talks. This was made clear in the various administration briefings during and following Hussein's visit to Washington last month.

The other barrier to the entry to the talks of both Egypt and Jordan is said to be Israel's continued occupation of Lebanon. American officials, it was said, including Secretary of State George Shultz, were convinced that Israeli troops would be out of Lebanon by year's end, as they had been told by Israeli officials. Israel's refusal to move on either issue, it is believed, is calculated to kill the Reagan peace plan.

Rather than push Israel to move on both issues, the administration threw the ball into King Hussein's court, maybe taking a cue from the Senate which approved US $475 million more than the administration had initially requested for aid to Israel. Hussein thus expected Reagan to stick to his plan and call for a settlements freeze. Regardless of Arab cooperation, Reagan is believed to have asked Hussein to state openly his willingness to join the "peace talks," thus creating pressure on Begin, both at home and in the US. Hussein, who must take into consideration the more than 50 percent of his people who are Palestinians, as well as his family's history with the Palestine problem before he decided to announce his agreement to participate in the talks, is insisting on a settlements freeze.

There seems to be no alternative to power to bring about a change in the Begin government – power not in Arab hands, but the power available to the US government, which if used could soften Begin's grip. Secretary of State and Defense Secretary in the Nixon administration, Henry Kissinger recently said on ABC TV that it is in the interest of Israel to accept the Reagan plan while it is powerful. Israel's **status quo** of occupying 1.3 million Palestinians in the territories, Kissinger said, will hurt Israel's moral stand and will exhaust its limited resources. He also said 100 million hostile Arabs will eventually catch up with Israel industrially and militarily and by then, he continued, the American people will have less incentive to support Israel as an occupying power.

Some Israelis, in fact, have also begun to complain about US unwillingness to control Begin's government . Having built the strongest army in the Middle East, and maybe the third strongest military power in the world, with US finance and military aid, Israel's former General Peled believes that Israel is becoming too militarized. In an op-ed piece in the **New York Times**, December 30, Peled warned against the overblown military and financial aid to Israel. Peled addressed the US congress and taxpayers saying: "Why are you giving us the rope with which to hang ourselves?"

ISRAELI WOMEN WRITE:

PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

Israeli women for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon sent a letter to members of the Israeli Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, on December 1982. Al Fajr publishes below the contents:

Dear Member:

As negotiations with the Lebanese government get under way, we are more deeply concerned than ever with the plight of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Our government's promises to aid in rehabilitating the refugees have not been kept. UNRWA saw to the allocation and preparation of sites for construction of houses and cement is being supplied by the "Joint." The little that has been done by the government is that the IDF has made it possible for these foreign agencies to pursue their efforts.

None of this is sufficient. In the region there are several thousand more refugee families who are not in the care of any rehabilitation agency. For "political reasons" it is unlikely that one will be found to deal with them.

Five thousand "detainees" are still being held in the Ansar camp. After several months of imprisonment their interrogation has been over for some time and it is quite clear that only a small number of them was involved in terrorist activities against Israel. To this day the public has not been informed why these men are being held and when they will be released so that they can help rehabilitate their families — mainly women, children and old people.

One of the aims of the negotiations is the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. We must bear in mind, repeat and warn over and over again, that the Palestinian refugees are unable to defend themselves like other groups in Lebanon. They have been disarmed, and there are many who would like to see them out of Lebanon without being too particular as to the means employed.

We demand that the Israeli government ask the other governments representing the multi-national force serving in Lebanon to take upon itself the responsibility for the security of Palestinian refugees in all parts of Lebanon.

We are approaching you as a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, on which most of the parliamentary parties are represented. You will surely agree that this matter is first and foremost a humanitarian one. We ask you to use your influence and standing to ensure that the government does not shirk its responsibility for the safety and lives of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

OUT OF LEBANON!

Editorial of Derech Hanitzutz
No. 5, January 1983

It is no longer a secret. The facts show that a majority of the Israeli public is against prolonging the Israeli stay in Lebanon. For the first time in the short history of Israel, a war of the scope of the Lebanese war is being argued and is subject to growing opposition. "Come down to us, airplane" — that innocent song that is taught to infants — turned into a macabre song that is sung by the majority of the soldiers who serve in Lebanon.

The army decided to hold sanctions against a reporter who presented the Israeli public with the truth. As if reality could be changed or obscured from hundreds and thousands, the people are fed up with serving in Lebanon.

Today more and more people understand that one war only results in another war, and that all Begin's and Sharon's promises have no basis whatsoever. Yesterday they promised peace with Egypt, and today peace with Lebanon. Nothing is left of the peace with Egypt but its form, and the real content of the peace with Lebanon is another war.

Lebanon has been struggling for its independence since the beginning of the century. The people of Lebanon spilled their blood in order to drive away the French occupation forces. Forty years later Israel is trying to impose on Lebanon what the French had failed to.

Today everyone can realize that it was not the PLO that took Lebanon hostage. Lebanon had no other choice than to open its doors to its Palestinian brothers and sisters who were expelled by Zionism from their homeland. On the other hand, it is Israel that strives to turn Lebanon with its natural resources into a vassal state. "This is well understood by those Israelis who favor immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. They number twice as many as those who favor their stay." (Haaretz, 27. 12. 1982) The continuation of Israeli occupation, demonstrating disrespect for human dignity and the right of Lebanese sovereignty, means more incidents like that which occured in Kfar Shalem.*

The stubborn resistance of the Lebanese national forces and the freezing Lebanese winter are starting to open the eyes of hundreds of thousands of workers and youths, who were misled by Begin's racist and chauvinist parlance. They are the ones who have to serve in the army reserves for up to 120 days in difficult conditions, when it is clear to them that their stay has nothing to do with self-defence.

Four-thousand people — Arabs and Jews — who marched in Tel Aviv on December 25, demanding to get out of Lebanon are the first to march. "The Committee Against The War in Lebanon" is the only public body that is consistently struggling for this simple and faithful demand. All peace-seeking forces and individuals must rally around "The Committee Against The War In Lebanon" and express the desire common to many, both in the Arab and in the Jewish quarters, to prevent the next war and get out of Lebanon.

*(Killing an Oriental Jewish youth on the roof of his house when he resisted the demolition of his "illegally" built dwelling at the end of December.)

SOLIDARITY STRUGGLE IN BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

by Roy Stoves

In their attempts to influence and win committed supporters of Israel in Western political parties, nowhere were the Zionists more successful than in the British Labour Party. Some of the world's most uncritical supporters of Zionism have come from among the leaders of this party.

In the last few years, Palestine solidarity activists in the Labour Party began solidarity work and Trade Union Friends of Palestine, in particular, achieved much publicity due to its spectacular successes, such as the twinning of the town of Dundee in Scotland and Nablus on the West Bank, and the activities of prominent Labour Party members, such as Ernie Ross and George Galloway, who are members of TUFP.

But the strong Zionist lobby in the party presented a formidable obstacle to the pro-Palestinian activists, who foresaw a long and difficult struggle before the Labour Party could be moved from its pro-Israel stance. If those at the top of the party were faced with entrenched Zionist opposition, those activists who were working among the party rank-and-file were surprised to find that once the PLO case had been presented and explained to party members, it often received support. On many occasions a Labour Party branch meeting which had certain Israeli sympathies could be almost completely won over once the myths of the giant Zionist propaganda machine could be dispelled. Of course, these were all small gains; but they were all seen as necessary first steps on a long road.

However, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the indiscriminate bombing of West Beirut, the racist statements of Begin — such as his reference to Palestinians as "two-legged animals," — and in particular the horrendous massacre at Sabra and Shatila, caused an enormous shift in public opinion throughout Britain. This tidal wave also had a great effect on the Labour Party membership. This time the Zionists found Israel's actions impossible to even try and justify. They had to lie low and keep quiet.

At the Labour Party national conference in October, they voted for recognition of the PLO as the sole-legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, demanded Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the occupied territories, and called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. After the mass-murder in Beirut, any other vote would indeed have been another deep disgrace to the party, and those whom they are supposed to represent — the British working class.

This vote has given much encouragement to the pro-Palestinian activists in the party, but although it is a very progressive step, it unfortunately does not mean that a future Labour government in England would necessarily apply these resolutions of the party conference. The largely right-wing Labour Party leadership — which works under the stern eye of national and international capital, even when 'in government' — is unlikely to adopt any position that is strongly opposed to the policy of the US. In this respect, any struggle in the British Labour Party for an anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist policy in the Middle East is dependent upon a favourable outcome to the fight for more internal democracy in the party (eg: enforcing the implementation of conference decisions) and the struggle for an independent socialist Britain, free from the tutelage of the USA.

These are struggles that will be fought inside and outside the party and inside and outside the trade unions and parliamentary politics. But on the issue of Palestinian solidarity work, more and more work must be done with the membership of the party, and among trade unionists and other members of community organizations. Only through more information, meetings, exhibitions, films, leaflets, conferences and demonstrations, can the awareness of the working class be raised and pressure applied on their leadership to adopt an uncompromising, active position of support for the Palestinian struggle.

In other words, while the Labour Party's official Middle Eastern policy might have improved, there is much still to be done, and the leaders must be put under strong pressure — the necessity of unified, hard work by anti-Zionists has never been greater. It is this need that makes the recent Labour Committee on Palestine (LCP) founding conference of November 20, 1982, all the more outrageous (see Al Fajr English 3. 12. 1982). The LCP was formed by the coming together of hard-working regional Palestine Solidarity groups who were active in the labour movement — but the founding conference was in actuality wrecked by a large number of people who were not Labour Party members. These people — whom no-one had ever seen at any Labour Palestine Solidarity meeting, demonstration or any other activity — numerically dominated the conference and passed their own resolutions. These people who flooded the conference in order to destroy the LCP were strongly suspected of belonging to a political organization associated with actress Vanessa Redgrave (— the Workers Revolutionary Party — eds).

. . . . . .

The supporters of the group associated with Redgrave voted against these proposals, and in favour of their own, weaker proposals which refrained from committing the LCP to actually campaigning for the breaking of connections between the British Labour movement and Zionist bodies. They then voted their own candidates into the official positions of the organization, so the original founders of LCP — all serious pro-Palestinian activists in the party — were therefore obliged to leave the conference in the hands of those who had swamped the hall in order to crush the new solidarity movement.

Acts of destruction such as this, do not serve the just cause of the Palestinians' right to self-determination. Rather they aid the forces that are rallied against the struggle of the Palestinian people. In England, this struggle can best be supported by united action to force active support for the legitimate representative of the Palestinians — the PLO — not by trying to destroy the work of other activists.

December 21, 1982

COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

DHEISHEH — Israeli forces entered Dheisheh refugee camp and forced about 200 people to stand on a mountain close to the camp. During this time soldiers insulted the residents and arrested many of them. The people were held until 12 am, according to local reports.

Women from Dheisheh refugee camp held a sit-in strike in front of the camp mosque protesting the curfew which was imposed on the camp and the detention of their children.

December 22, 1982

NO SPEAK

JENIN — Telephones between Jenin and Nablus are out of operation for the second day.

NO LAWYER FOR DENTISTS

RAMALLAH — Samir Abu Ghosh, a dentist in the Rashidiya school in Jerusalem, imprisoned now for 22 days, has been prevented from seeing his family or his lawyer.

HISTORY LESSONS

TEL AVIV — The Israeli ex-Chief-of-Staff Mordechai Gur said that Israel planned to occupy East Jerusalem in 1962. A special group of Nahal forces was formed for that purpose, he said. Conditions at that time did not allow Israel to do it.

December 23, 1982

TWO ISRAELIS KILLED IN EIN HILWEH

An Israeli military spokesman announced that two Israeli soldiers were killed and one was injured when a mine exploded near a military post in Ein Hilweh refugee camp, in South Lebanon. The explosion took place at 8:30 am.

CURFEW CONTINUES IN BALATA

NABLUS — The curfew placed on Balata refugee camp continued today while it was lifted on al-Qasabeh district of Nablus yesterday afternoon. A round up of residents was conducted in the refugee camp of Balata.

THOUSANDS OF PILGRIMS CANCEL CHRISTMAS VISIT

TEL AVIV — Israel Television announced that thousands of Christian pilgrims have cancelled their scheduled trips to the Holy Land this year. The TV report said that the tourist movement is very slow this year. In East Jerusalem seven hotels out of 17 are closed. The hotels open have no more than 35 percent occupancy rate.

ISRAELI ARMY POST IN BETHLEHEM SCHOOLS

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli authorities took over Bethlehem's schools to use as posts for the Israeli army squads in Bethlehem for Christmas.

ATTEMPT TO BURN GREEK CHURCH

The Israeli news agency ITIM said that unknown persons tried to set fires and drew swastikas on the entrance of two churches in Ein Karem neighbourhood of West Jerusalem.

Israeli police discovered burnt paper pushed through one of the small windows in the Greek Church there. The swastikas were drawn on the entrance of the Notre Dame Church in Ein Karem and the word 'OUT' was painted on the entrance. The Israeli news agency said that a week before similar things were painted in French at the entrance of the church.

December 24, 1982

BOMBS IN BEIRUT SCHOOL

All government and private schools in Burj al-Barajneh, West Beirut were closed after the discovery of a plot to massacre 1000 Palestinian students between 6 and 13 years old. Explosive devices were discovered in a local school.

Palestinian residents refused to send their children to school.

Soldiers of the Italian multinational forces discovered the devices on several floors of the school. They were primed to explode at 8 am.

The Italian forces are searching passers-by to try and avert a new crime.

PNC DATE

TUNIS — Dr. Nabil Sha'ath, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's advisor, announced that the Palestine National Council will meet on February 4 in Algiers. Arafat's advisor said that the PLO gives great importance to the session and has invited prominent international personalities.

ARRESTS IN BALATA

Israeli soldiers arrested 34 Palestinians from Nablus on suspicion that they participated in the demonstrations and strikes that occurred in Nablus at the beginning of this week. The detainees were accused of violating the curfew that was imposed on Balata camp. Another two detainees were accused of insulting Israeli soldiers.

December 25, 1982

COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

The Jerusalem-Ramallah road was closed following several incidents when stones were thrown at Israeli vehicles.

Scouts parade in Jerusalem on December 28 to celebrate the birthday of Prophet Muhammad/SF

THREAT TO GAZA DOCTOR

A masked unidentified individual handed a doctor in Gaza's Shifa hospital a closed envelope. The police were immediately informed of the package which turned out to be a letter bomb. It was exploded without causing damage.

HAPPY, HAPPY, HAPPY

YATTA-HEBRON — 20 year old Mazousa Shehadeh Abdel-Rahman Abu Aziz, gave birth to three male infants. The triplets are in good condition.

UNCOLLECTED GARBAGE IN GAZA CAMPS

GAZA — Refugees in Gaza complain that piles of uncollected garbage in their camps have reached unhealthy levels. The garbage and the nearby swamps are also blocking traffic around the camps. Residents of the refugee camps called upon UNRWA authorities to "do what they can" to remove these health hazards from the camps.

December 26, 1982

NEW JAIL

TEL AVIV — A new Israeli prison in the Nablus area for Palestinian prisoners will be open in 10 months time and will hold 2700 prisoners, Israeli radio reported.

HOUSE ARREST RENEWED

HEBRON — The military authorities imposed a fourth consecutive six-month administrative town arrest order on trade unionist Mahmoud Ziyadah.

December 27, 1982

FREE AT LAST

NABLUS — Curfew was lifted from Balata refugee camp after 11 days.

MASSIVE HARASSMENT BOAST

TEL AVIV — A report made by the Green Patrol, the paramilitary wing of Israel's Nature Preservation Society, on their work during the past six years boasts that 800 Beduin families were deported and 500,000 sheep confiscated. The report submitted to the Israeli agricultural ministry said that the Green Patrol has confiscated seven million dunums of land from the hands of so-called 'invaders' — the official term for Beduin residents of the Naqab. Twenty-six complaints have been filed against the Green Patrol in the High Court and 14 other complaints have been heard. All were rejected.

NEW BRIDGE FEES

WEST BANK — Israeli authorities now charge an increased fee for residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip who cross over the bridge into Jordan. The new

First snow of the winter/SF

fee is IS250. The fee is collected when local residents return.

JOURNALIST FINED FOR MAGAZINE

RAMALLAH — An Israeli military court sentenced Radwan Abu Ayyash, chairman of the public relations committee of the Arab Journalists Association in the Occupied Territories to a three months suspended sentence and a fine of IS10,000. Abu Ayyash was accused of "incitement" and "possessing illegal material." He was arrested last year because he was caught carrying a copy of the magazine, **The Palestinian Journalist**, which was issued by the association to inform people about the situation of the Arab press. The "incitement" and "illegal material" charges stem from this arrest.

STONED SETTLER

JERUSALEM — An Israeli car was stoned on the road to the new settlement of Eial David in East Jerusalem. It was reported that the car suffered severe damage.

WORRYING EMIGRATION

JERUSALEM — A study made by the Bank of Israel published today reports that 100,000 Palestinians have left the West Bank since 1974, the majority of them going to Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.

December 28, 1982

GRENADE INCIDENT

An Israeli military spokesman said that a hand grenade was thrown at an Israeli vehicle on its way to Kiryat Gat near the village of Tarqumia near Hebron. He added that the driver of the vehicle fired shots from his machine gun but no one was hurt. Israeli forces imposed a curfew on the village of Tarqumia and started investigations.

KARMON ON HIS WAY OUT

TEL AVIV — Israeli sources reported that Colonel Yigal Karmon, advisor for Arab affairs for the 'civil administration' on the West Bank, is now "on vacation." The sources added that this vacation comes before leaving his job and the army. After the resignation of Menachem Milson from the civil administration, Karmon became acting head of the civil administration of the West Bank.

CELEBRATION OF THE PROPHETS' BIRTH

The Prophet Muhammad's birthday was celebrated by Muslims in the occupied territories. In Jericho a religious celebration took place in the new mosque. Speakers were Sheikh Ikrima Sabri, head of the department of preaching of the Islamic **waqf**, Sheikh Sami Salodi and Sheikh Harb. Sweets were given to the believers after the ceremony.

December 29, 1982

RAFAH'S LAWYER FIRED

RAFAH — Leading personalities in Rafah have declared their objection to the firing of Abdullah Yusef Abu Jaser from his post as the legal advisor to the Rafah municipality. The municipality has advertised the post but qualified residents have not applied for the job to protest the firing of their colleague in what they call "an arbitrary manner."

NAQAB TENTS DESTROYED

Israeli Knesset member Imri Ron from the MAPAM faction of the Labour Alignment announced that the Green Patrol destroyed a number of tents belonging to the Azzazmeh Beduin tribe in the Naqab despite the fact that an order stopping the destruction was issued by the courts.

December 30, 1982

PRISON FOR ISRAELI LOOTER

Israeli radio said that the military court in Jaffa has sentenced a reservist in the Israeli army to one year jail, after he was convicted of stealing three packages of cigarettes from a young Lebanese boy.

IS4-5 MILLION TO SETTLE ONE JEWISH FAMILY

Michael Dekel, Israeli deputy agriculture minister, informed the economic committee of the Knesset that settlement of each Jewish family in the West Bank costs the state treasury between IS4-5 million. Matityahu Drobles, head of the settlement department in the Jewish Agency, told the same committee that 40,000 new settlers are expected to join the 30,000 settlers presently living in the West Bank.

SETTLERS UPROOT TREES

Israeli daily **Ha'aretz** reported that settlers from Gush Etzion settlement uprooted olive trees, recently planted by Palestinian residents from Nahaleen village near Bethlehem, in the Jabel Abu Qroon area which was declared state land about six months ago.

Residents have applied to the High Court to reverse the decision but the High Court has not heard their case yet. The landowners are from the Zawahreh Beduin tribe.

December 31, 1982

BOMB IN JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM — An explosion occurred near the Jewish quarter of the old city of Jerusalem. The explosion, which occured near Bab Silsile did not result in any injuries but material damage was reported.

ANOTHER TEACHER FIRED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli occupation authorities handed teacher Adel Ata Abu Alan a letter informing him that he can no longer teach. Abu Alan is a teacher at the Burj School in Dura, near Hebron.

January 1, 1983

SNOW SNOW SNOW

The region was blanketed by heavy snow-falls which blocked roads and brought down electricity cables. Newspapers did not appear due to transportation problems.

January 2, 1983

ARMED ROBBERY IN BEIT HANINA

JERUSALEM — Six armed persons broke into the house of Dimitri Riziq in Beit Hanina in the Jerusalem area and stole money and jewellery worth around IS2 million.

CAPTAIN DIES OF WOUNDS

TEL AVIV — The Israeli military spokesman announced the death of Israeli captain Yehoshua Levi as a result of injuries sustained the previous day when his car was hit by fire in the Kufr Seal area, south of Beirut.

A second soldier was also injured in the incident.

GAZA RESIDENT MISSING

GAZA — The whereabouts of Gaza resident Mu'tazar Salman Annawati, 25, were reported still unknown after he left for Tel Aviv last Wednesday to make arrangements for his sister in-law to travel to West Germany. The Israeli police have been informed.

JORDANIAN REMANDED AT EILAT

EILAT — The magistrate's court in Eilat remanded a Jordanian citizen in custody for 15 days after he had crossed the border into Israel at Eilat in the south of the Naqab the previous day.

Reporting the news, Israel radio added that it was unlikely that the Jordanian had infiltrated across the border to perpetrate an act harmful to Israeli security, and that he would be sent back to Jordan shortly.

ISRAELI JAILED FOR SELLING GRENADE TO PLO

TEL AVIV — The central court in Tel Aviv sentenced Nissim Beitoun, 24, to two years imprisonment after finding him guilty of selling an Israeli army handgrenade to a "PLO member" in Gaza.

CITRUS MARKETING PERMITS

TULKARM — The Israeli authorities have given permission for citrus products from Jericho and Tulkarm to be marketed in Bethlehem and Hebron, on condition that they are transported via Ramallah and Jerusalem. Sale is permitted on Sundays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays from 10 am to 1 pm.

Swastikas and "out" painted on doors of Greek Orthodox Church, Ein Karem, Jerusalem, December 23. See item, page 8.

CASH FOR SETTLEMENT

JERUSALEM — The Knesset Finance Committee allocated IS 10.5 million to Ya'ir settlement in the north of the West Bank, near Qalqilya. Ya'ir settlers are from the South African branch of Herut, Prime Minister Menachem Begin's party.

NEW STUDIOS IN SETTLEMENT

TEL AVIV — Israel radio reported that Israeli settlers are to build film and TV studios in Ma'ale Adumim settlement on an area of 100 dunums.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CALLED IN

TEL AVIV — Lawyer Felicia Langer has filed a complaint to the international organisation for human rights, Amnesty International, concerning the violation of human rights in the occupied territories, including the torture of residents.

Among lawyer Langer's complaints were Israeli practices against workers' unions in the West Bank and residents' complaints of torture by Israeli forces, as well as collective punishment imposed on residents of Burqa village in the Tulkarm area.

Langer said that the military authorities have forbidden the villagers to travel to Jordan as a "punishment" for their refusal to cooperate with the Village Leagues.

ISRAELIS OPPOSE SETTLEMENTS — AND SETTLE IN WEST BANK

WASHINGTON, UPI — **The Washington Post** reported that many Israelis are buying villas and apartments in the West Bank despite their ideological opposition to settlement in the occupied territories, because of the easy terms and financial support available to Israelis wishing to settle there.

January 4, 1983

KEEPING ON THE BOIL

TEL AVIV — A spokesperson for the Peace Now movement announced that there are armed groups in settlements in the West Bank, belonging to the extreme right-wing Tehiya Party and the Gush Emunim movement. These groups aim at fomenting tension in the occupied territories, the spokesperson alleged.

PROPOSALS ON ANSAR PRISONERS CANCELLED

TEL AVIV — The Knesset voted to remove from the agenda a debate on the situation of prisoners at Ansar camp, South Lebanon. It was dismissed after Israeli Defence Minister Sharon claimed that allegations about conditions of prisoners from MK Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front for Equality were completely unfounded.

TWO ISRAELIS KIDNAPPED ONE DEAD

BEIRUT — The Phalangist Voice of Lebanon Radio reported that "some armed elements" have kidnapped two Israeli soldiers in the town of Jiya on the coast 25 kilometers south of Beirut, and that a third Israeli soldier has been killed in the same region.

MASS ARRESTS

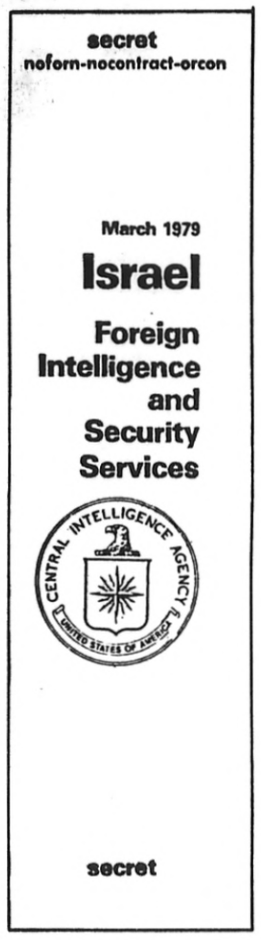
Davar reported that dozens of young Arabs have been arrested recently in the Bethlehem area, in Dheisheh refugee camp and in Nablus. Many books have also been confiscated. The youths were arrested after stones were thrown at Israeli vehicles.

WHAT BEGIN AND REAGAN DIDN'T WANT YOU TO KNOW

SECRET CIA DOCUMENTS ON ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE

The secret CIA and State Department documents printed here have come a long way. They were discovered by the Iranian students who took over the US Embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979. Some were complete, others which had gone through a shredding machine were painstakingly pieced together.

The documents, made available to CounterSpy magazine by Randy Goodman, Terri Taylor and William Worthy, are only a fraction of a 13 volume paperback set (complete with commentary) readily available for sale in Iran. The three journalists picked up a set at an airport on their way to Shiraz. In late November 1981 they had completed their assignment for CBS and flew home. The FBI and customs officials seized their luggage and confiscated the documents — with the active assistance of Lufthansa (West German) Airlines.



But a second set of the books — sent by another route — was overlooked by customs and reached the US intact. (Some of the volumes were supplied to the **Washington Post** which analyzed them in a series running from January 31 to February 6, 1982).

The documents supplied to **CounterSpy** deal with the triangle of US-Israeli-Iranian relations. A careful reading of the documents illustrates that the **Washington Post's** analysis was narrowly focussed on the "US angle." Other disclosures were simply glossed over — systematic Israeli suppression of domestic dissent, for example, or Mossad (Israel's CIA) and Israeli military intelligence support for repressive regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and even Mossad's "psychological warfare projects."

This week **Al Fajr** begins a 10-part series on Israeli intelligence agencies based on the in-depth CIA analysis written in March 1979 and classified secret, originally published in **CounterSpy**.

Intelligence and Security

A. General

Israel's principal intelligence and security authority is the **Va'adat Rashei Hasherutim** (the Committee of the Heads of Services), generally known as Va'adat. It coordinates the operations and activities of its members. **Mossad Letafkidim Meyouchadim** (the Secret Intelligence Services) or Mossad, its common name, has the primary responsibility for foreign operations and is subordinate to the prime minister. **Sherut Bitachon Klali** (Counteresplonage and Internal Security), popularly known as Shin Bet, is responsible for security and is directly subordinate to the prime minister. **Agaf Modiin** (Military Intelligence) has the main responsibility for strategic military intelligence and communications intelligence and is under the command of the chief-of-staff of the Israeli Defense Forces. The ministry of foreign affairs provides support in research and political planning to the Israel intelligence community. The ministry of interior assists the National Police with police investigations and the maintenance of border security.

1. Background and development of services

In 1948, when the British mandate ended, the Jewish population of Palestine established the state of Israel. Among the agencies of government to emerge was the intelligence and security unit known as the Information Service (**Sherut Yediot** — popularly known as Shay). This organisation, which was the intelligence arm of the Zionists' underground resistance force, the Haganah, during the years of the British mandate, had begun to engage in operations on a worldwide scale with the founding of the Jewish Agency in 1929 at the Zionist Congress in Zurich, Switzerland. At that time, the Jewish Agency was composed of both Zionists and non-Zionists, including a strong American participation. The Jewish Agency, which was created to aid and support distressed Jews and to sustain the Palestine Jewish community, has been effectively under Zionist control over the years. It has also served as a cover for Shay, which extended its covert operations into Western Europe and the United States.

From 1923 to 1948, Shay's objectives were to promote the establishment of an independent state of Israel; infiltrate mandatory installations in order to apprise Zionist leadership of British attitudes and proposed actions; collect political intelligence that could be used in Zionist propaganda; penetrate Arab and anti-Zionist propaganda; penetrate Arab and anti-Zionist factions in Palestine and peripheral nations; monitor and control all extremist groups — left and right — among Jewish communities in Palestine and abroad; provide security for the arms smuggling and illegal immigration programs of the Haganah; and finally collect information on Nazi Germany to guarantee the security of the Jewish underground and escape channels throughout Europe before, during and after World War II.

Shay consisted of the following components: Political Intelligence (**Machlakit Medinit**); Counterespionage and Internal Security (**Sherut Bitachon Klali**), Military Intelligence (**Sherut Modiin**); Police Branch of Military Intelligence (**Sherut Modiin Shel Mate Artzi**), and Naval Intelligence and Security (**Sherut Modiin ve Betachon Kohot Ha Yam**). These services worked independently on behalf of the different ministries to which they were individually responsible. This intelligence and security community was competitive and frequently acted on its own, a product of the general postwar chaos which required the accomplishment of many urgent tasks wherever and whenever they might arise. In some of the West European capitals all services were represented and competed for the same agents and sources.

By April 1951, the prime minister and cabinet, seriously alarmed by the atmosphere of mutual jealousy and mistrust prevalent among the services at the increasing cost of their uncoordinated efforts in the field, decided to reorganise completely the basic structure of Israel's intelligence and security community. The dynamic force behind the plan was the late Reuven Shiloah, who reorganised the services according to functions and responsibilities and established a mechanism to coordinate their activities. Shiloah was chairman of this authority, the Committee of the Heads of Services (**Va'adat Rashei Hasherutim** called Va'adat). He integrated the Naval Intelligence and Security Services and the embryonic air intelligence unit into Military Intelligence (**Agaf Modiin**). The Political Intelligence Service was made independent of the ministry of foreign affairs and reorganised as the Secret Intelligence Service (**Mossad Letafkidim Meyouchadim** or Mossad). The ministry of foreign affairs retained Research Division (**Machleket Hackoker**). Shin Bet remained intact except for internal changes. The Special Tasks Division in the Investigation Department of the police became a part of the new apparatus. Shiloah's reorganisation of the intelligence and security structure produced an efficient and well-coordinated community.

The Israeli intelligence and security services retained this structure relatively unchanged throughout the Arab-Israel War in October-November 1956, the Six-Day War in June 1967 and the early and mid-1960s, however, the Israeli government had considered changes in the structure and duties of the components of the intelligence and security community. Despite Shiloah's earlier reorganisation, much of what happened in the Israeli services at this time depended on the personal relationships between Ben Gurion and the directors and chiefs. In early 1963, just before his retirement, Ben Gurion appointed a committee to review the situation. He was concerned that the intelligence and security establishment which, by virtue of his serving both as prime minister and minister of defense, usually functioned satisfactorily, might deteriorate when he left office. He also was reported to be dissatisfied with the lack of clarity in the community's chain of command and functions and ordered the committee to define the subordination and tasks of these bodies.

The Emergency Regulations of 1945 gave the military administration the power to arrest and deport troublesome elements and to designate certain locations as "closed areas," thus requiring local inhabitants to possess travel permits to transit such places. While the regulations originally applied to both Jews and Arabs in Palestine, they are now used largely to monitor the Arab community in Israel.

In July 1963 the committee submitted its report to a new prime minister, the late Levi Eshkol. The committee stated that, while the functions of prime minister and minister of defense did not necessarily have to be concentrated in the hands of one person, the prime minister must know about all the activities of the national intelligence and security services and be given objective intelligence evaluations balanced and based on different viewpoints from more than one source. To accomplish these aims the committee recommended that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Research Division be strengthened so that it would be capable of presenting independent political evaluations, which were handled almost solely by the Military Intelligence Production Department. The committee also observed that the existence of Mossad, which controls secret foreign information gathering assets, facilitated to some extent the possible formulation of another independent evaluation unit. The committee also regarded as a matter of vital importance the appointment of a special adviser, subordinate only to the prime minister. He would be a person of high caliber who would aid the prime minister in keeping in touch with and monitoring the activities of the intelligence and security services. The committee's principal recommendations were not implemented at the time except for the establishment of the adviser position and the shift of responsibility for Shin Bet from the minister of defense to the prime minister. There was a brief interlude from September 1965 to July 1966 when Isser Harel, the former chairman of the Va'adat and director of Mossad, served as a special adviser to Prime Minister Eshkol on intelligence and security matters. Harel resigned as a result of internal policy disputes within the community and he was not replaced at the time.

Following the alleged "intelligence failure" in the Yom Kippour War, the Israeli government established the Agranat Commission in November 1973 to investigate matters relating to the hostilities and the performance of the intelligence and security services. The commission in its **Partial Report** in April 1974 proposed reactivating and strengthening the post of special adviser to the prime minister on intelligence and security matters. The commission also recommended changes in the intelligence and security forces through the establishment of a research and evaluation unit in Mossad and the elevation of the Research Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The object of this modification was to avoid relying exclusively on Military Intelligence for major estimates and assessments. The commission also emphasized the need for better operational coordination in the field of collection between the services but it opposed the coordination of their finished intelligence judgements. A full or final commission report, if there ever was one, was never made public.

From 1974 to 1976 the recommendations of the **Partial Report** of the Agranat Commission were implemented. The Prime Minister appointed Reserve General Rehavam Zeevi as his intelligence adviser, a position that was purely advisory and carried no executive authority. Zeevi was also to be the prime minister's liaison with the director of Military Intelligence and was also to keep the prime minister alerted to differences of views among the intelligence and security services. In October 1976, however, Zeevi resigned from this post and was replaced by Brigadier (Ret.) Yehoshafat Harkabi, a former director of Military Intelligence. The Research and Political Planning Center of the ministry of foreign affairs came into operation in January 1975. Changes in the Military Intelligence struggle were being carried out. A new research and evaluation unit for assessing information was established within Mossad. New appointees had taken over in most of the intelligence and security components. In June 1977 the Israeli government established a Ministerial Committee on Security Affairs.

2. Objectives and structure

Principal targets of the Israeli intelligence and security services are: (1) the Arab states — their capabilities and intentions toward Israel, their relations with the USSR and other powers, their official installations and representatives throughout the world, their leaders, internal and inter-Arab politics, morale, military preparedness and other order of battle; (2) collection of information on secret US policy or decisions, if any, concerning Israel; (3) collection of scientific intelligence in the US and other developed counties; (4) determination of government policy toward Israel in the USSR and East European nations and the problem of Jewish emigration from these areas; (5) close monitoring of anti-Zionist activity throughout the world; and (6) collection of political, and economic intelligence in other areas of interest to them, such as Africa. The Israeli services also make special efforts to counter Arab propaganda and to neutralize anti-Zionist activity. Within recent years the Israelis have devoted much operational activity to combating Arab terrorism, which has grown over the years from isolated cross-border raids, by Palestinian fedai'in to daring and deadly attacks, often international in scope, on Israeli personnel and property. The Israelis also have undertaken widescale covert political, economic and paramilitary action programs — particularly in Africa.

Many senior diplomats are former intelligence officers and therefore conversant with intelligence problems and operations. With their experienced observations and manifold talents, they serve as valuable auxiliaries to their covert colleagues, whose diplomatic cover is diligently sustained by the minstry of foreign affairs.

Authorization for foreign intelligence and internal security organizations, while not defined by specific charter, is in Israel legislation. Paragraph 29 of the Basic Law states: "The Government is authorized to carry out on behalf of the State, in accordance with any law any act whose implementation is not lawfully entrusted to any other authority." This implies that the government is entrusted with the management of intelligence and state security affairs since no other authority is empowered to act in this sphere by any other law. Attempts have been made over the years by officials within the government and the community to have an act passed defining the status of foreign intelligence and security organizations and their operations, but nothing has come of these efforts.

Internal security, on the other hand, is more clearly defined in law. The Defense (Emergency) Regulations of 1945 (established during the British mandate), the **Military Law** of 21 June 1955 and the **Penal Revision** (State Security) Law of 31 July 1957, the Israeli equivalent of the British **Official Secrets Act**, all are concerned with internal security. The Emergency Regulations of 1945 gave the military administration the power to arrest and deport troublesome elements and to designate certain locations as "closed areas," thus requiring local inhabitants to possess travel permits to transit such places. While the regulations originally applied to both Jews and Arabs in Palestine, they are now used largely to monitor the Arab community in Israel. Administration of the regulations was transferred from the military to the police in 1966. Internal security organs reportedly increased their agent activity to meet this responsibility.

Israeli laws require severe punishment ranging from the death penalty or life imprisonment for treason or assistance to the "enemy," to terms of incarceration from three to 15 years for espionage, contact with foreign agents, aiding and abetting a crime against state security and unauthorized disclosure of information by a public servant. There is no statute of limitations regarding the unauthorized disclosure of classified information.

The central body in Israel's intelligence and security community is the Va'adat, which has as its primary function the coordination of all intelligence and security activities at home and abroad. The Va'adat consists of the Director of Mossad, the Director of Military Intelligence, the Director of Shin Bet, the Inspector General of Police, Director General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Director of the Research and Political Planning Center of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the political, military, intelligence and anti-terrorist advisers of the prime minister. The Head of the Special Tasks Division in the Investigations Department of the Police also occasionally attends the meetings with, or in place of, the Inspector General of Police. Meetings must be held bi-weekly but may be held more frequently. At these meetings each director usually provides a briefing on the key activities of his service during the preceding two weeks. The Director of Mossad chairs Va'adat and in this capacity is directly responsible to the prime minister. The members of Va'adat are quasi-equal in status and the term memune referring to the Director of Mossad as chairman is designed to denote a concept of preeminence among equals. In actuality, however, the Director of Military Intelligence now overshadows the Director of Mossad in power and importance. This development resulted from the continuing Israeli reliance on military preparedness for national survival.

Mossad is charged with the collection of foreign intelligence and the conduct of covert action programs outside Israel.

Shin Bet is responsible for counterintelligence and internal security. It functions as the governmental authority on personnel security matters. It is also responsible for the personal safety of the prime minister and other high ranking Israeli officials. Shin Bet is in charge of physical security for ports, airports and key military/industrial installations in Israel and for Israeli missions and El Al operations outside Israel. Shin Bet does not have the power of arrest, this function being performed by the Special Tasks Division of the Investigations Department of the Police, which works in close collaboration with Shin Bet in Israel. Within the Administered Territories, which are controlled by the Israeli Defense Forces, Shin Bet applies to the military to undertake arrests and searches. A special component under the Inspector General of Police is the Border Guard, whose mission is that of guarding the cease-fire lines against Arab infiltration and of detecting and running down fedai'in terrorists. In recent years Border Guard units have been used increasingly to control and suppress riots and demonstrations in the West Bank area.

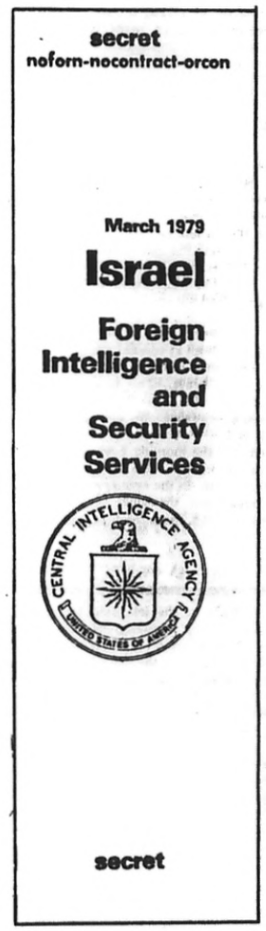
Military Intelligence, in addition to its responsibility for strategic and tactical intelligence, prepares the national intelligence estimate and evaluates all information dealing with the Arabs. It also is responsible for developing and protecting communication codes and ciphers for all the services and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and for communications intelligence.

The Research and Political Planning Centre, which was formerly the Research Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, analyses raw intelligence from various sources for officials on the policymaking level.

Other Israeli government organisations that provide support to the intelligence and security community are the Ministers of Finance (Customs and Excise, Investment and Securities) and Tourism, the national airline, El Al, and the national shipping line, Zim. Unofficial Zionist organisations based in Israel and Jewish communities throughout the world also give aid to Israel operations when needed.

There are between 1,500 and 2,000 personnel in Mossad, of whom about 500 are officers. Shin Bet has about 1,000 members of whom some 550 hold officer rank. In Military Intelligence there are about 7,000 personnel, of whom 450 are officers, the others being enlisted personnel and civilian clerks. The number of officials in the Research and Political Planning Center of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs ranges between 75 and 100. The police number abo 2,000 and the Border Guards around 6,0

Since the financing of the intelligence and security services is a closely held secret, it is very difficult to get accurate information on the total amounts expended for these purposes. The funds are concealed in the defense budget, and known to the prime minister, the minister of defense, one or two of their top assistants, the minister of finance, the state comptroller and his Defense Services Inspectorate. The comptroller deals directly with the directors of the services, who request funds at the beginning of the fiscal year in April. The estimates of expenses by the directors, who have established reputations for honesty and integrity, are usually acceptable as a starting point for budget negotiations. The ministry of finance, however,



does require a 10-year projection of expended financial needs (an impossible task which is not taken seriously). The comptroller holds a series of meetings with the various service directors and their staffs, reviewing their programs in detail. These sessions continue throughout May and result in a careful redefinition of the entire intelligence and security effort and its cost. By October, the determination of specific budget needs is completed, based on the program analysis completed in May.

Israeli governmental offices and departments are continuously borrowing money, personnel, equipment and material from one another and salaries are paid by the office to which the individual is assigned. An intelligence officer or a ministry of foreign affairs official stationed in New York and assigned to the Jewish Agency is paid salary and allowances by the Agency but loses neither seniority nor retirement status while serving in that capacity.

A Work Camp For Palestinians in Israel

by Salman Natour

About 20 kilometers south-east of Netanya, are the large citrus groves of the Tel Mond, Meshmeret and Herut settlements. The roads connecting the settlements lead to villas of the best construction and design while the tracks going through the trees will take you to Muhammad from Rafah, Hassan from Gaza, Ali from Beit Jala, Jamal from Yatta . . . (and others from) Hebron, Qalqilya, Tira and Kalansawa.

We penetrated the orchards fully aware that our presence there was illegal because we entered without permits. We were afraid of getting arrested by the police or the border guards. We found out later that the presence of the border guards is usual and part of the existing reality there. Therefore our meeting with the workers was very quick so that we could speak to the largest number of them.

Near a shack, we saw some of them, who came from Hebron via a **rais** (labour boss) from Tira, a nearby village. Some had arrived just two days before, and they did not know how much they would be paid. One of them said, "we have not agreed on the wage. They told us there is work so we came. The most important thing is to find work and feed our children."

He added, "We start work at 8 am and finish at sunset." Those who had begun their work two weeks before knew more details. "The daily wage is IS340 (US $10). They deduct IS10 as health insurance. We also pay for food. But what do we eat?" he questioned. "In the morning I drink a cup of tea. At noon I eat a loaf of bread with an onion. In the evening, a cup of tea, bread and **shemeinet** (thick yoghurt). The **rais** brings the food and we pay him.

In the shack are beds for about 20 persons, laid on the ground. It seemed that the workers who sleep in this shack had filled the holes, which appeared in the boards from which the shack is built, with plastic to prevent rain from getting through. One worker said, "The plastic does not stop the cold. We feel as if we are sleeping in a refrigerator."

A Camp

When we were looking for the workers camp at Herut settlement, we went into many orchards. In every one there is a shack or an old building which apparently were used as stable before technology. They have now been turned into "hotels" for Arab workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Each houses between five and 12 workers, who sleep on beds placed on the ground. They do not have hot water. In other places, workers are living in old derelict buses, each provided with an electric lamp and covered with plastic.

We arrived at the place after a two hour search. From a hill overlooking a yard in the middle of the orchards, we saw five buses . . . two of them covered with plastic, an old building, and a large yard. We only met some workers there; the rest had not arrived. One of those we met is in his 40s. He is from Gaza and has been working in the settlement for 10 years. He told us that not all the workers of the camp go to work every day. "They have to be on call. They belong to Herut settlement and they cannot work in other settlements. Everyday the owners of the orchards choose the workers they want. Whoever is not chosen, has to stay without work that day, and they have to wait for the next day, hoping to get work."

The number of workers in this camp is 250 and this jumps to more than 700 in season. The owner of the orchard is pleased. He still has three empty buses. First he finds housing for the workers and then distributes them in the orchards.

One worker told us, "When we arrived they demanded that we should not enter the settlement during the night before 7:30 am." He added that every two or three days a border guard patrol comes and conducts a late night search. "They tell us that they want to see if we stole fruit or avocados. If they find one orange on any one of us they arrest him." If the workers want to eat oranges they have to get a permit from the owners.

The Rais

The **rais**, who came while we were talking to the workers, is 30 and was appointed by the settlers of Herut to be in charge of the workers in this camp. He is the owner of an orchard which produces every year 140 tons of citrus. This is besides a flower nursery which provides him with US $10,000 every year, and 3000 chickens. Herut settlement was established 50 years ago and settled by 114 families. Each family owns 50 dunums. Most of them belong to the Labour party. 'Herut' means 'freedom.'

The **rais** said, "In the past the workers used to sleep in nearby Tira. But they had problems there with the local people. And since the Israel Land Administration does not allow us to set up buildings on the land, we saw these buses as the best solution. I don't like this situation but what can I do? The Jews don't want to work picking oranges. I am a Zionist, and I want Zionism to be as it was in the past: Hebrew labour on the land and not in the stock exchange."

He added, "Until last year, there was a Beduin from Sinai, who was doing all the work for me, but he left me when Sinai was returned. And now I am looking for a worker like him, on whom I can depend. These workers are just for picking. They come at the harvest season only. I prefer foreign volunteers like in the kibbutz. For me, if they give me a foreign volunteer I would let him live at my house and use him for work. When we need workers, we ask those who have been working here for a long time to bring more. We don't force these workers to work in our orchards. They want this. What can we do for them? We pay them and find them a place to sleep. I am not a politician and I cannot solve their problems. My main concern is to have my oranges. picked."

Asked whether his son had seen the camp and what he said about it, the **rais** said, "Yes, he saw the camp. For him this is a usual thing. He did not say anything about the situation of our workers. Because it is the same situation for the workers of our neighbour Yossi and others. This is not a subject which bothers my son or me." (Translation: Al Ittihad, December 28, 1982.)

Thanks to the television I meet members of the Knesset from time to time. The small set introduces me to the sanctified place of the nation, where those elected by the nation do their legislative work and deal with all the problems on the day's agenda.

Mistake. Not "deal" but "are supposed to deal." Because everyone who takes a good look, everyone who follows the TV reports will immediately learn that one would better look for the members of the Knesset in any place except a plenary session.

This creature named "member of the Knesset" is such a rarity that he reminds me sometimes of the Loch Ness monster. Everybody talks about it. Everybody knows everything about it. But nobody sees it, although there are some who claim to have done so. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the average member of the Knesset and the legendary monster from the Scottish swamps. From time to time there is irrefutable proof of the MKs' existence, as, for instance, at the moment of a crucial vote, when they return from abroad.

This week I have discovered another way to prove the concrete existence of MKs. Last Friday the television "uncovered" a work camp in the citrus plantations of Tel Mond moshav. One day later the same medium brought us the good news that the MKs will submit urgent interpellations and motions on the agenda concerning the use of Arab work in Hebrew agriculture, and maybe on the work and

Members of Knesset Have Discovered Arab Work

by Yoela Bar Scheffi

living conditions of Arab workers.

Congratulations, dear members of the Knesset, you have discovered America.

Another mistake: you discovered America a long time ago and maybe this is why you did not have the opportunity to discover Arab work in Israel and the working conditions of the Arab workers. The television does not deny the subject. On the contrary. Better late than never. We are lucky to have television.

But television has existed for a long time now, the radio even longer, and the newspapers have always existed. The media has already "discovered," "uncovered" and dealt with these issues. Maybe not satisfactorily — as the manner and extent should be decided according to the results — but the issues have been raised in the media and nothing was solved. The phenomenon extended and became part of the scenery.

Don't you remember the reports (on TV, radio and in newspapers) during the Alignment government, about the crops sold in advance to Arab contractors? About agriculture based on the work of Arab children? About the **raises** who are contractors of women, children and other workers from the territories and take away from them half of the payment for their work?

Don't you really remember the catastrophe which happened in Tel Aviv, when three workers from the territories were burnt to death in a fire which broke out in a fiber factory? They could not run away because the owner locked them inside, so that they would not wander around during the night — as they were not allowed to stay in Israel overnight.

You really did not notice which workers' hands brought prosperity to the Rafah settlements? With respect to this matter, there is an important diffrence between the "Israeli Arabs" and the Arabs in the occupied territories. The "Israeli Arabs" are aware of their rights — concerning the size of their salaries and their social rights. And even more important, they do not depend on their employers' arbitrariness concerning their living places. Wherever they work, they can always return to their homes at the end of their working hours. If they work far from their home they can still rent a place close to the workplace (in spite of all the difficulties the Arabs have renting houses in "Jewish" surroundings).

This is not the case of the workers from the territories. Even if they decide to return home every day — despite the distance and the additional exhaustion caused by the travel, transport fares would take a large part of their salary which itself is much under the suitable payment for their work. Therefore they prefer to spend their nights inside the Green Line. But their staying in Israel during the night is forbidden, except when they have received a special permit to do so. In most

Continued on page 14

PALESTINIAN TALES FOR CHILDREN

Samia Faris, Al Fajr's photographer, recently published a collection of 17 short stories for children, Palestinian Tales for Children, reflecting the political, economic and social effects of the occupation upon the children of the occupied territories.

The main themes of the stories concern religious tolerance, national and economic deprivation and the ambition to achieve the Palestinian objectives of self-determination and liberty.

Samia Faris' children, the heroes of these tales, are real children. Thus in Tareq, the Child, the hero lives in a camp deprived of everything usually associated with childhood in the West: sweets, toys and gifts. He is hungry and thirsty and does not find any solution to his deprivation other than to "carry the stone and throw it strongly, repeatedly and in anger."

Samia Faris talks simply about children's experiences, and does not reflect in these tales the usual mythological or religious symbols that are associated with children's tales.

For instance, the story of The Labourer's Family, is a story about almost every labourer's family living in the West Bank. The children – Hamed, Safieh, Ahmad, Nasir and Hassan – are poor. Their father cannot meet their daily needs because he is unemployed. Meanwhile Mas'oud, the owner of a vast spread of land, refuses to employ him on his property which is successively reduced by confiscation.

Despite the fact that the content of these tales reflects real situations, they are not written in a well-structured style. In his introduction, Ali Khalili gives an explanation for the absence of an artistic literary base in these tales. They are, he writes, (typical of) "the general weak attempts dominating this kind of literature in the occupied land and the isolation and remoteness of writers of the occupied territories from the progressive mature writing in the Arab world." However, Khalili says, Samia Faris's writings reflect humane, national awareness and that "writing about and for children is the writing about and for the future."

Because Samia reflects her commitment to the Palestinian cause in writing about children of peasants, workers, craftsmen, refugee camps and the sons of martyrs and prisoners, Ali Khalili says enthusiastically that perhaps she writes "not only for children but also for us."

Daliah and the Soldiers

Daliah asked Uncle Bashar, 'Why do the armed soldiers multiply in the street?' Uncle Bashar replied, 'Because they like might.'

Daliah went to the street and asked the soldiers, 'Why do you like might?' The soldiers shouted at her: 'Go home or we'll beat you.'

Daliah ran to Uncle Bashar and, in astonishment and anger, asked him. 'Why do soldiers hate us, uncle?'

Uncle Bashar said, 'Sit down, Daliah. I'll tell you about what's happening around you. Every oppressing governor uses weapons and soldiers.'

Daliah said, 'But why does the governor oppress the simple poor?'

Uncle Bashar said: 'You have to read more Daliah, because by science and culture, you'll discover the road to salvation and a better life.'

Daliah started to learn to provide herself with the sole weapon for knowledge and life – that is, science.

One evening, Daliah saw soldiers scattering through the quarter and surrounding Uncle Bashar's house. Daliah also observed soldiers arresting and putting Uncle Bashar in chains. They covered his eyes with a piece of cloth and beat him severely.

Daliah ran and asked the soldiers, 'Why do you tie up Uncle Bashar?'

The soldiers said, 'Go home to your mother. This business does not concern you.'

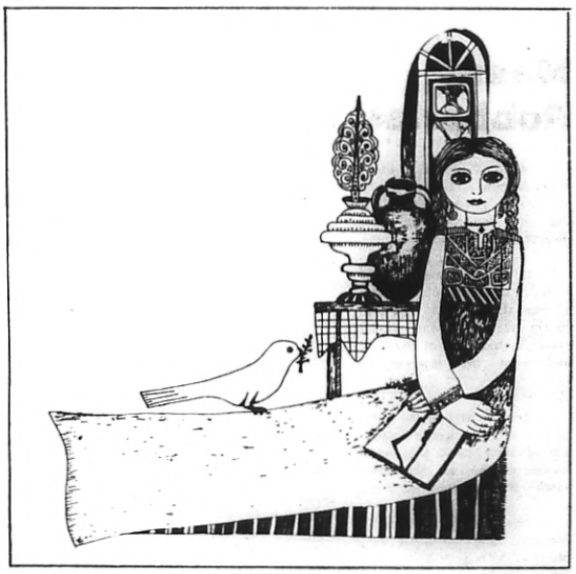
Daliah screamed so hard that the soldiers stopped. They then said, 'Because he hates the governor and incites people to hate him.'

Daliah said, 'The governor hates people. Uncle Bashar does not hate people. He helps them all and shares their worries. He never beat anyone or used force.' The soldiers said in vexation, 'Go home, rude child, or we'll beat you.'

Since that date, Daliah did not see Uncle Bashar. Years passed and soldiers were replaced with others. Daliah became a young woman. One day the soldiers came and tied her up and beat her.

The children of the quarter shouted at soldiers, 'Why do you tie her up?'

The soldiers said, 'Because she does not care about the security of the state and hates soldiers.'



TAREQ

Tareq is a persecuted child who never eats chocolates nor drinks milk. Tareq never knew the shape of biscuits, nor tasted sweets. Tareq does not enjoy the joys of the feast. His clothes are shabby and he dreams of getting new ones and some money from his imprisoned father every holiday.

Tareq is so poor he eats dirt with the thyme that is his food. He sleeps in a shack, so small that his head rests on the doorstep. Tareq yearns to play with toys and many other things. He sees colourful butterflies fly freely from one flower to another and each evening every butterfly returns to its home. He sees birds hovering from dawn to dusk and as night approaches, birds go to their nests. He sees chickens, cats and dogs – all have suitable homes, but Tareq, the human being, does not find such a place. He only gets rejection and stones.

He leaves from his shack, and trying to rid himself of pain and persecution, he carries stones, and shows his anger. His state becomes worse and he returns to the shack dragging his haggard body. His anger and alienation grows and he carries stones, throwing them with power and in anger.

Issue 28 of **Al Fajr Al Adabi**, January 1983, contains a variety of literary and cultural articles, by progressive Palestinian writers in the occupied territories and outside Palestine.

Sami Kilani, well-known as a short story writer, has just published a collection of poetry. Watch next week for reviews of both publications.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories followed the latest rounds of the Israeli-Lebanese-American talks as well as the latest moves by King Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat.

The speech by Khalil Wazeer (Abu Jihad) to the Palestinian fighters in the Beqa'a Valley was given importance in the three local dailies. Abu Jihad reportedly told the Palestinian fighters, on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the declaration of the Palestinian revolution, that there is no disagreement between the PLO and Syria and that there is no backing down on the independence of the PLO.

The three dailies failed to appear January 2 because of the snow storm which covered the area, halting transportation.

Mass Robberies

When a single robbery takes place in a remote town, it stirs people's worries, questioning and demands for more measures to provide security.

But that thieves rob 11 stores in the centre of Jerusalem at one stroke, is an act that speaks for itself and should make the headlines of the local and even the international media.

In these days, as the celebrations of the religious festivals are at their peak the world focuses on the holy places and watches the situation in them.

The security measures in Jerusalem and the other holy places is the responsibility of Israel, according to international conventions; therefore it must do its best to provide security for Arab residents themselves and for their property.

AL QUDS
December 18

The Steadfastness Front... Another Attempt!

This week has witnessed intensive moves by the leaders of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, many statements were made by officials from Democratic Yemen and Libya about the possibility of holding a summit conference for the leaders of these countries.

Despite the fact that we always appreciate any move that aims at uniting the Arab national power in the face of hostile plans, we can not forget our bitter experience with this Front in the past. Since the formation of this Front after Egypt's exit from the Arab arena, it remained a framework that had no content and a was body without soul, at a time in which the Arab masses were looking to it as a leading factor in uniting the struggle of the Arab nations. Most of the leaders of this Front did not do any thing towards uniting the energies.

When the Palestinian officials warned day and night of an expected Israeli invasion of Lebanon and called for a meeting for the leaders or defence ministers of this Front they were answered with complete silence and ignorance. When the invasion took place, and the cowardice and connivance of the Arab regimes was revealed, the stand of most countries of this Front was the reason for great disappointment and bitterness.

Despite this, we stress that the door should remain open to any unity action between the Arab national powers, but it should be made clear that our nations are not ready to take another bitter experience . . . our nations expect a serious and effective action which will not take place unless the countries of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front express their clear and tangible solidarity with the Palestinian nation and with the political stands that this nation adopts in order to achieve its rights and confront the conspiracies planned against it and other Arab countries.

What is required is a framework that would charge the energies and crystalize a wide movement. We must here mention a surprising irony; how can the Arabs of America unite their lines and effort in the Gulf Cooperation Council, for instance, whereas the Arab nationalists fail to do so?

AL SHAAB
December 22

A New Year

Today the world greets a new year, saying farewell to a year full of enormous events during which conquered peoples searching for freedom and independence have witnessed the most ugly campaigns of barbarism, material and political uprooting, and the crushing of their national identity.

Of course, the Palestinian people lead these peoples in their opposition to the largest campaign known in human history, aiming at destroying the material and spiritual centres which they established. Despite the maliciousness of the attacks and the lack of Arab honour and retreat in all fields, this people set the finest example of patience, sacrifice and steadfastness and were on the frontline in defending Arab dignity when the official Arab warning was confined and fearful of involvement. This people stepped forward whilst everybody retreated.

What happened in Beirut revealed the concerns governing the Arab situation; the departure does not mean a fourth or fifth migration but rather a sharp curve in favour of the unity of the great Arab masses.

If our people take leave of a year full of sadness and greet a new year, they also reaffirm their strong determination to stride towards the achievement of their firm national goals. The journey of long years cannot be without recompense.

How fine it would be if this year were the source of inspiration for all justice and peace-loving forces to stand with the Palestinian people and support them in obtaining their legitimate national rights, at the forefront of which is their natural and lawful right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state on their national soil.

AL FAJR
January 1, 1983

Solution Within A Solution

Israel has declared that it has decided to keep its army in the Shouf mountains until an agreement on Syrian withdrawal is concluded. This Israeli announcement follows the non-acceptance of Israeli proposals calling for partial Syrian withdrawal and total Palestinian withdrawal from Lebanon and the return of Israeli prisoners . . . all this in return for: partial Israeli withdrawal from the Shouf mountains!

These Israeli proposals coincided with growing demands within Israel for unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Shouf mountain region because of daily increasing operations and clashes with the Israeli army. The most recent demand was presented by Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori.

Another subject of concern is that while Israel is demanding partial Syrian withdrawal, it also calls for total Palestinian withdrawal and the return of prisoners.

The question is: what do the Palestinians get in return?

The answer is: nothing.

It has been obvious for years that "the Lebanese problem" has become part of the problem of the region, since it is impossible to attain security and stability in Lebanon except within a comprehensive agreement which achieves security and stability for all peoples of the region, including the Palestinians.

Until when will American policy, considered the real power behind the puppets, continue to ignore this fact and try to move against it?

AL FAJR
January 3, 1982

The Same Coin

Two new signs have appeared recently to support the many others which indicate that the Alignment — the Israeli Labour Party — is only another form of the Likud in so far as its policy on the occupied Arab territories is concerned.

The first sign is that Yizhak Rabin, one of the Alignment leaders, has asserted that the party is opposed to Israeli withdrawal up to the Green Line and demands the annexation of large areas of the West Bank and Gaza to Israel within any settlement that might be reached.

The second sign of the true direction of the Israeli opposition is the decision of the Israeli General Workers' Union, the Histadrut, which is subject to the political influence of the Labour Party, to allow the General Works' Association to take part in building Jewish settlements on the West Bank.

After these two most recent signs, as well as those preceding them, do we need new proof that the Likud and the Alignment are two sides of the same coin?

AL QUDS
January 5, 1983

HARSH POLICIES IN THE WEST BANK

Irregularities or Method?

by Zvi Barel

"On March 24, 1982, the body of a young Arab man was taken out of the Alia hospital in Hebron; the youth, inhabitant of Bani Naim village, had been shot to death by the security coordinator of Kiryat Arba (who has not been brought to trial up to this very day). While the body of the dead youth was being taken out of the hospital, the deceased's father and other members of his family were being beaten up by Lieutenant-Colonel Shalom Lugassi and other soldiers present in the hospital. The reason for this treatment of the deceased's family was that they, with other people, opposed and stopped the soldiers from taking the body which was to be brought to the pathological institute in Abu-Kabir."

"On the same day, at about 9:30 am Lugassi clubbed a few local inhabitants who were in the vicinity of a stone and burning tyres barricade. Sergeant Yehoshua Cohen (one of the reserve officers who lodged a complaint about this) claimed that there was no previous provocation from those beaten up and the beating was meant to force the people to remove the barricade."

"During the briefing given by Lugassi to the reserve soldiers in the month of March, he ordered us to push the locals in a rough way and that if we did not hit them hard they would disturb order."

Lugassi also said (according to the complaint) "if we reach a situation in which the natives get severe blows, this will be our aim."

These are only four of the twenty-four complaints lodged by reserve officers, members of the Peace Now movement, to judge advocate-general Colonel Schefi. The complaints include descriptions of acts of humiliation, confiscation of private property, and beating and attacking Arabs in the West Bank. These are deeds put under the title, "irregular," a pitiful expression when compared to their real content. But more severe is that there are people who think that such deeds are not irregularities and that they are done according to the normal orders issued by West Bank army headquarters and according to the heavy-handed policies proclaimed by the defense minister.

"According to orders"

Especially amazing is the reaction of the West Bank military commander, Yaakov Hartabi, to the cases described above. When he gave his testimony to the military police investigators (who inquired into the affair by order of the judge advocate-general concerning the beatings suffered by members of the dead youth's family, Hartabi says: "Shalom Lugassi and his aides acted properly and according to written and oral orders which I gave on several occasions."

About the beating of Hebron inhabitants with the aim of forcing them to remove a stone barricade, Lugassi says: "I got to the place with the aim of dispersing demonstrators who were in a face-to-face fight [with the army]. I hit them with a club in accordance with given orders." Concerning this case and concerning round-ups of young people (in order to arrest them) "as an act meant to calm the spirits" Hartabi says: "Lugassi's reasoning was wise and justified and he acted in accordance with his authority as it is established in the security orders and directives."

As for Lugassi's way of expressing himself during the briefing he gave to the reserve soldiers, Hartabi says that he sees nothing unfit in it and that the meaning of such expressions as "to push roughly" or "to push them" is "to quickly restore the order in times of demonstrations and disturbances and one should use, if necessary, clubs, teargas, rubber bullets and arrests. In such cases it is necessary to 'push' the wild crowd."

It is interesting to note that in 15 cases out of 18 in which Hartabi testified it was found that the people involved acted in full accordance with the orders current in the West Bank and to the directives given by Hartabi to those under his command.

In order to complete the picture it is worth having a look at the remarks and the conclusions of the judge advocate-general concerning those same events approved by the district commander. Concerning the taking away of the dead youth's body from the hospital, the judge advocate-general says: "It should be noted that according to instructions, Lugassi decided to take away the body in order to avoid a mass funeral which would have been used by the natives to continue disturbing order; also to make possible the inquiry concerning the reasons of death. Lugassi's claims for the necessity of this inquiry are acceptable to me. But the reason for the taking away of the body in order to prevent mass funerals and disturbances of order are unacceptable. In principle, the family should not be prevented from holding the funeral by the taking away of the body, as the army commander is authorized to decide on the date of the funeral and on special arrangements for its execution."

Who Will Be Punished?

Concerning the beating of inhabitants who were near the stone barricade, judge advocate-general Schefi says: "It seems that Lugassi's deed is an assault and battery offence. Although Hartabi justified in his testimony Lugassi's act, I think that this justification was given to Lugassi's version pretending innocence and not to other testimonies given in this affair (and which contradict Lugassi's testimony)." The gathering of the local inhabitants and their transfer to the military government headquarters "was not in accordance with the law and was not done according to the order concerning security instructions — as Hartabi believed." As for the expressions used by Lugassi in his briefing, the judge advocate-general says: "The heavy-handed policy was decided within the army's senior ranks and Hartabi also gave his consent to it. Therefore, I did not find any offence in Lugassi's expressions. Nevertheless, Lugassi should have been careful in the way he expressed himself because his expressions could be understood by the soldiers as permission to perform illegal actions."

And indeed, these expressions were understood as the judge advocate-general expected. The so-called "irregular acts towards the Arab population. Hebron surpassed in their severity anything that the Israeli army forces had known in its past actions. It is true that the soldiers were confronted with a violent and provocative population, during demonstrations and disturbances which continued day-after-day and in different places at the same time, soldiers faced situations which endangered their lives . . . but in the majority of the cases checked by the judge advocate general it was found that the "treatment" of the demonstrators by the soldiers did not take place during the moments when the soldiers' lives were in danger.

One question was not answered the whole Hebron affair and in the conclusions drawn by Schefi who checked the events thoroughly. This question is connected to a remark concerning the commander of the armed forces in the West Bank. Schefi says: "It should be remarked that Hartabi found fit all the irregular cases concerning the behavior of those under his orders without thoroughly checking case by case, its meanings and its implications." In other words, in the opinion of the high ranking commanders of the armed forces in the West Bank, the "irregular actions" are not irregular at all. On the contrary, everything was done according to orders and directives, according to the heavy-handed policies decided on by high-ranking security elements such as the chief of army staff and the defence minister. Is it happening again that those giving the orders are cleared of every sin while those carrying out the orders are punished? Regarding Hartabi, the judge advocate-general contented himself with a remark only; Lugassi was transfered from his office but he continues his service in the framework of the military government, contrary to the judge advocate-general's recommendation; as for a sergeant and seven soldiers who sinned by "misunderstanding" their commander's orders, the recommendation was to bring them to trial. (Translation: Haaretz, 17.12.1982)

The Jerusalem Post reported January 5 that Mordechai Artzi, the military operations officer in the Hebron area, confirmed in evidence at the trial of Major David Kofaz and six other soldiers that the military commander of the area, lieutenent Colonel Shalom Lugassi, had given him and other officers instructions to beat local residents, harass them and break watches as punishment.

Mofaz told the court that Hartabi had ordered him and several other officers in Hebron to remove students from the Islamic college in Hebron in small groups, "detain them, photograph them and deal with them." Mofaz told the court that he understood by "deal with them" — "to beat them."

Mofaz also confessed that the head of the Beit Ummar Council and chairman of the local Village League, Jamil el-Amleh, had helped him to trace two youths from the village of Beit Kahil.

"Tearing Off Testicles"

Mordechai Bassok from **Al Hamishmar** writes: Sharon's policies of "tearing off testicles" (an alleged statement he made to Menachem Milson) in the territories raised a storm of anger in the Knesset. Michael Bar-Zohar (Labour) and Shulamit Aloni (Citizen Rights) have demanded the defense minister's dismissal; Amnon Rubinstein (Shinui) lodged an urgent proposal on the Knesset agenda that an end be put to these shameful policies. In a letter to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Bar-Zohar asked: "When you were defense minister, did you also order the soldiers to tear off the citizens' testicles?" Bar-Zohar also wrote in the letter that the defense minister's instructions to Israeli army soldiers in the (occupied) territories "are a shame for the Israeli army and the Jewish nation." He asked the prime minister: "When will you understand that you made a big mistake when you appointed Sharon as defense minister?"

Shulamit Aloni wrote the prime minister: "for the sake of the name, the honour and the moral status of the state of Israel, you have to immediately dismiss Sharon from all public offices."

In justifying his urgent proposal on the Knesset's agenda, lodged to the Knesset president, Amnon Rubinstein said that the defense minister's instructions establish norms of brutality in the army, which has always professed its commitment to the purity of arms. By his deeds and words the defense minister serves the purposes of Israel's enemies.

Tawfiq Toubi, a Democratic Front for Peace and Equality MK, wrote justifying his urgent proposal on the agenda on the grounds that Minister Sharon's words "demonstrate that the maltreatment of residents in the territories is not part of irregularities but part of deliberate policy."

LEBANON REFUSES NORMALISATION

Israel, Lebanon Dead locked

Talks between Lebanon, Israel and the US started, December 28, in Khalde, Lebanon, and nine days still had no agreed agenda. As the three delegations to the talks sat down at a heavily guarded sea-front hotel south of the Lebanese capital, differences became evident from the start.

In his initial statement, chief Lebanese negotiator, Antoine Fattal, a former Lebanese ambassador to Rome, said his country's first objective was to seek restoration of sovereignty and authority over its territory and called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from its territory. He stressed that the 1949 armistice agreement signed between Israel and Lebanon "remains the juridical instrument regulating Lebanese-Israeli relations."

For Israel, David Kimche, director general of the Foreign Ministry, immediately refuted Fattal's statements on the 1949 agreements saying "they have become . . . completely null and void." Outlining Israel's needs Kimche said he wanted to sign an agreement "but a step away from the full, final, formal peace treaty."

After opening statements, the heads of delegations, the US representative is State Department emmisary Morris Draper, went into a huddle on the agenda. Six hours later they gave up, not having reached agreement. Israeli sources were reported in **The Jerusalem Post** expressing satisfaction with the first round of talks.

Israel's insistence that the proposed agenda include "normalisation" agreements balked the next session on an agenda held at Kiryat Shemona, the Galilee, December 30. Israel was said to be willing to drop the term as long as it was substituted with another defining the same concept or if the elements of "normalisation" — trade and tourism agreements etc — were included on the agenda. Despite the deadlock, the talks were described as "friendly" by all participant delegations.

By the end of the third session at Khalde, January 3, Israel was saying it regards the inclusion of some "normalisation" concept on the agenda as a matter of principle. The US and Lebanese delegation were said to be coming to the conclustion that the agenda problem be halved and substantive talks on troop withdrawals should start immediately. The next Kiryat Shemona meeting is scheduled for January 6.

Behind the scenes Draper shuttled between Beirut and Jerusalem attempting to resolve outstanding differences. Philip Habib, Washington's chief Middle East envoy, is in the US and is not expected in the region immediately.

Israeli politicians also became increasingly strident in their frustration. After bitter hints about "certain Muslim leaders stymying resolution of the "normalisation" issue from Yitzhak Shamir, "Israeli sources" named — via **The Jerusalem Post** — Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzan, January 6, as responsible for vetoing the issue.

Observers of the talks say Lebanon cannot move on "normalisation" as this would cause it problems with the Arab world — whose dollars are an eventual elements of the country's rebuilding programme. Israel, though seen as the main obstacle to progress, is said to have to come up with some thing before Prime Minister Begin goes to Washington next month for talks with US President Ronald Reagan.

ELECTRICITY AND WATER CUT OFF

Jenin Lawyer Punished

The appointed mayor of Jenin, Shihab Sanouri, is continuing his campaign against political opponents in the town. On December 29 he ordered electricity and water supplies to the house of Zuhair Jarrar, a Jenin lawyer, to be cut. Local sources say that this is Sanouri's favourite form of sanction against the townspeople.

Jarrar's electricity and water, which are supplied by the municipality, were cut off without prior notice. When he inquired as to why the measure had been taken Jarrar was reportedly told that he has not paid his bills. When the lawyer presented receipts proving that he does not owe any money to the municipality, he was told by a municipal official that he still will not get the services restored.

Jarrar sent telegrammes to the Israeli military governor of Tulkarm, and the Israeli military governor of the West Bank complaining about the arbitrary action. He sent an open letter to **Al Fajr** and **Al Quds** dailies attacking the Israeli-sponsored mayor's action.

On January 2, 1983 Jarrar was summoned by the Jenin military governor who, the lawyer said, warned him against sending such letters. The Israeli officer also "advised" Jarrar to check with him in order to solve problems whenever they arise. He also promised to restore the water and electricity the next day. Jarrar is still waiting for services to be reconnected.

Sanouri was made mayor of Jenin during the spring-summer purge of elected municipal officials by the military authorities. Since the council was dismissed Jenin residents say that the appointed committee administering the municipality pressures every applicant for a construction permit or other license to pay between JD 50 and JD 200 as, what they term, a "donation" to the municipality.

IN EAST JERUSALEM

Quandt Tries To Sell US Policy

Brookings Institute academic William B. Quandt paid a semi-official visit to Jerusalem, this week, with one message for Palestinians and another for the Israelis. In an East Jerusalem press conference called exclusively for the Palestinian press, January 4, Quandt made public his strong impression that Jordan will soon enter the US President Reagan peace process with some kind of "Palestinian" approval. The next day on Israel Radio he implied that this would bring about a split in the PLO when he told a reporter that "elements within the PLO" would be opposed to "peace negotiations."

Quandt was in Jerusalem at the end of a five week tour which has taken him to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Tel Aviv. Both the US consulate in East Jerusalem, which arranged the press conference, and Quandt himself stressed he was on tour in a personal capacity. **Al Fajr** has learned however from unimpeachable US sources that the State Department bankrolled the trip.

In East Jerusalem Quandt said that the ball is now on the Arab side and that the Jordanians and Palestinians have to make the next move. He said that the "Jordanians and Palestinians seem to be making headway in their own talks on coordinating a position on future negotiations and that both felt a serious degree of progress had been made both on substance and on some of the questions on how to prepare for negotiations on the procedural side."

Quandt, a former National Security Council member during the Carter period and an architect of the Camp David accords, said the Jordanians "felt" the US was "serious this time" about negotiations for peace in the Middle East and would back any initiative from them.

After fielding some sceptical questions about US intentions in the Middle East, Quandt said the US would "provide inducements" and "take direct sanctions" if it decides to "play an active role in negotiations." He posited two "tests" the US would have to pass if it was to play an effective role in negotiations: "first to bring about a "quick settlement" in the Israeli-Lebanese negotiations and show some action on settlements. On Israel Radio the next day Quandt was more circumspect. He assured his interviewers that while the US "wants a quick solution" in the Lebanese-Israeli talks "this doesn't mean it will happen quickly."

Palestinian journalists were already sceptical of US seriousness, particularly after Quandt had stressed that the PLO would only be involved by the US in negotiations after recognition of UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338. He told Israel Radio that any Jordanian-Palestinian peace move would be opposed by "Syria and elements in the PLO." He said he hoped that some "mainstrean" PLO elements would give Hussein the go-ahead.

While in the country Quandt met Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij, former Jordanian Defense Minister Anwar Nusseibeh and Israeli officials.

Massacre Inquiry Update

The commission of inquiry into the mid-September Sabra and Shatila refugee camp massacre will end its hearings January 16 and then retire to write its report. Over the past fortnight the three-man commission has been hearing cross-examination of witnesses called by the nine senior political and military figures who were "warned," last year, that they could be "harmed" by the investigations. Much of the hearings, and submission of additional written evidence by some witnesses, has been behind closed doors.

January 12 has been set as the final date for submission of written evidence. Four days later the nine Israeli warned, who include Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan, will personally, or through lawyers, give a final verbal statement.

Israel in Lebanon: The Report of the International Commission to enquire into violations of International Law by Israel during its invasion of Lebanon.

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Workers. . .

continued from page 10

cases employers do not apply for such a permit and they "close their eyes" at the workers staying overnight in construction areas, in temporary warehouses, in abandoned ruins — always in overcrowded conditions, without minimal hygene.

I am not worried at the moment by the question of how the Jewish homeland is being built by Arab hands and how the homeland flourishes through the work of Arab women and children. This "Zionist" point needs a general revision, as the state of Israel of the '80s raises challenges other than the milking of Hebrew cows by a Jewish pianist.

The debate which cannot be delayed anymore concerns the numan and social aspect, the disregarding of the **de facto** slavery of people of another nation in the state of Israel. Last Friday the television broadcast dealt with this question too. From this point of view the climax of the broadcast was the discussion with a young woman member of a moshav who said that ever since the Arab workers were moved into the bus camp they became "disciplined" and do not wander around the moshav, as they did before, in spite of being warned not to do so.

Heaven of Heavens! The young Hebrew woman was not worried by the lack of electricity and hot water in the workers' dwelling-places. She didn't bother about their being ostracized. On the contrary: in her eyes the problem was the danger and the insolence of those "slaves" to wander on the streets of their lords.

Shall we find comfort in the edifice of such a country? (Translation: Al Hamishmar, 8. 12. 1982)

HOUSE ARRESTEE ACQUITTED

Acre district court acquitted January 3 Jubran Shaqour, a resident of Sakhnin in the Galilee, on charges of violating a town arrest order which restricts him to the limits of his town. Shaqour and his lawyers charged in court that the Israeli authorities are constantly trying to harass him for political reasons.

The Palestinian resident was arrested October 28 and charged with going to the neighbouring village of Arrabeh on the same day in violation of a town arrest order. He was held at the Sakhnin and Acre police stations for 16 days after which he was released on IS100,000 bail. After 15 sessions before Acre magistrate court, the court found him not guilty and dropped all charges against him.

At the court an Israeli policeman, Yusef Tarabiyeh, testified that he saw Jubran Shaqour in Arrabeh, which is about four kilometers away from Sakhnin. The policeman contradicted himself and his superiors when he said that he did not know that Shaqour was under town arrest. In his defense, Jubran Shaqour had eight alibi witnesses who testified that he was in Sakhnin at the time the Israeli policeman said he had seen him in Arrabeh. He also proved that it was his brother whom the Israeli policeman saw in Arrabeh.

Earlier Shaqour had been acquitted on charges of distributing anti-war leaflets in his home village. During that hearing, the Israeli judge expressed surprise that the police had instructed a witness on how to testify against the accused.

Jubran Shaquour, a member of the Progressive National Movement in Sakhnin, was served with the administrative town arrest order on October 1. The order was signed by the Israeli commander of the northern region said that he is to remain confined to the limits of his town all day and to his house during the night. It lasts for six months. He is also required to register his name at a police station seven kilometers away from his village three times a day.

Shaqour said in court that each time he goes to register his name, the policemen at the station try to give him a hard time in any way possible. At one time, he said, he was imprisoned for a day for throwing a cigarette butt in the street. "On many occasions, after I leave the police station, a police car escorts my car and issues tickets for minor mistakes such as not fastening the seat belt or not turning on the blinkers," the Sakhnin resident said. He added, "It is plain harassment because of my political views which contradict the views of the Israeli authorities."

Young demonstrator holds one of 200 numbered placards symbolising days of Lebanon invasion.

Anti-War Demo Marks 200th Day in Lebanon

About 3000 Jews and Arabs demonstrated in central Tel Aviv December 25 in protest at continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon. The demonstrators, who carried 200 numbered placards to symbolise 200 days since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, marched to the 'Kings of Israel' square chanting anti-government slogans. The demonstration, which was organized by the Committee Against the War in Lebanon was officially endorsed by the **Yesh Gvul** (There Is Limit), a group of soldiers opposing the war.

At the post-demonstration rally, Tel Aviv University lecturer Avi Oz warned of the "brainwashing process" of Ariel Sharon, the Israeli defense minister, in connection with the "coming Lebanon peace agreement." He added that the facts indicate that the Israeli army intends to stay in Lebanon for a long time. He said that no peace can be achieved without taking into account the Palestinian people. Noami Kees, a lecturer at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and leading peace-activist added that "a peace plan that doesn't include the establishment of a Palestinian state will not bring about a just peace."

Raja Khatib, head of the local council of Deir Hanna, the Galilee, spoke on behalf of the CAWL. In his speech he stressed the necessity of joint Arab-Jewish struggle against the "dangers of the fascist war."

Official slogans of the demonstration included: 'No future on the graves of the Palestinians,' 'Down with the government of murderers,' 'One Land for Two Peoples,' 'Bring Back the Refugees,' and 'No Alternative to the PLO.'

Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee Plans Official Meeting

The 11 member follow-up committee on Arab problems in the Galilee, established by Arab MKs and local council heads, met January 1, 1983 and decided to pospone taking decisions on important issues of land annexation in Galilee, financial problems, and discrimination in official policy. Stands will be taken, a spokesman said, after the group meets Israeli interior education and religious affairs ministry officials next week.

During the meeting at Kufr Manda, the Galilee, the committee discussed the growing financial problems of Palestinian Arab communities in Israel which they blamed on unsufficient budgets. Muhammad Zeidan, the chairman of Kufr Manda council told **Al Fajr** that they will present the ministries with documents and figures to back up their claim for higher budgets. "If this does not help," he said, "we will adopt the necessary procedures." Arab experts estimate that the current financial deficit of Arab councils now stands at IS8.5 million. Because of budget problems councils have faced difficulties in paying their workers wages. The employees of the local council in Kufr Manda have presently been on strike for four months in protest at government discrimination.

In their meeting the committee also discussed the recent government decision to annex 300,000 dunums of land in the Majd al-Kurum area to an Israeli regional council, Misgav. The meeting established a sub-committee to cooperate with the Committee for the Defense of the Land on the problem.

The meeting also protested the activities of the Israeli Katzav committee which, they said, excludes Arab students in Israeli universities from eligibility for scholarships and gives Israeli Jews priority in hosted places. They called the Katzav Committee "racist". They announced they would bring the matter up at their meeting with the ministry of education.

The MKs and Arab local council heads also announced they would demand from the Israeli ministry of religion the establishment of a trustee board to administer Moslem property. They specifically cited the case of Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa which Tel Aviv municipality tried to hand over to a private contractor last year. At the end of the meeting the Kufr Manda delegation denounced the recent decision to prosecute Muhammad Mustafa Mahmeed, Um al-Fahm local council chairman for closing his village schools March 30, 1982, the occasion of Land Day.

Israeli Police Kill Tel Aviv Resident

A 26-year-old Jewish resident of the Kfar Shalem neighbourhood in Tel Aviv was shot dead December 23 by police after he allegedly fired his pistol in an attempt to prevent the demolition of an illegal addition to his house. At 9 am of that day, a municipal bulldozer accompanied by several inspectors, armed policemen and border guards arrived at the home of Shimon Yehoshua with an order to demolish his two-and-a-half room house. The inspectors rejected the family's plea to wait for an injunction from the High Court which was on its way.

Meanwhile, Shimon drew his pistol and fired. The police claimed that Shimon fired at the police below, but eyewitnesses said he fired at the roof of a nearby synagogue. He was immediately shot in the head by a police officer.

The incident created tension and anger throughout the neighbourhood and a group of local residents tried twice to demonstrate with placards calling Shlomo Lahat, Tel Aviv mayor, a murderer. They were dispersed by a large force of police. Ten locals were arrested. Israeli newspapers reported that the residents threatened to "take revenge" on Lahat for Yehoshua's death. Locals told **Hanitzutz**, the organ of the Israeli Revolutionary Communist League, that the municipality and the police have been waging a war against Kfar Shalem for 30 years. "The reason is business first of all," they said. "They see that the people here have land. They brought us here after the Arabs were forced out of the village. The original name of the Palestinian village is Slameh. Our parents paid for the land but they did not receive documents, because they were naive. Now they want to take the lands from us by force. Lahat and the Hallamish construction company want to steal the land and sell it to contractors. Everything is neglected here."

Acts of demolition have also taken place before in the slum. Sa'adia, whose house was destroyed told **Hanitzutz** that although he had reached an agreement with the municipality to leave his home within a month, a week later the house was pulled down with his wife inside it. "My wife could not escape and a wall fell on her leg. She was a year in hospital."

(The Jerusalem Post, Derech Hanitzutz)

shorts

PALESTINIAN WRITER DETAINED

The Israeli military authorities detained December 31 the well-known Palestinian writer Jamal Bannoura. He is believed to be incarcerated at Fara'a punishment detention center. The writer was summoned to Bethlehem military headquarters on the previous evening and did not return. According to his lawyer he has not been charged with anything. Most Fara'a detainees are not brought to trial.

INCREASE AID TO REFUGEES

Eleven nations have announced increases in their 1983 contributions to UNRWA in response to an urgent appeal by UNRWA Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck for increased aid to the agency. Australia, Denmark, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Norway have announced major increases in their contributions. Increases pledged over 1982 are as follows: Australia US $313,000; Denmark US $[illegible],000; Libyan Arab Jamahiriya US $100,000; Norway US $1,382,000.

ANTI-WAR PROTESTORS WANT OUT

Dozens of Peace Now movement activists demonstrated in front of the Israeli prime minister's office in Jerusalem, January 3, protesting the continuance of the war in Lebanon. Demonstrators carried placards, bearing the slogans "Why is murder continuing in Lebanon" "Sharon — You can't deceive the people the whole time" and "211 days slipped into the swamp of Lebanon — Enough."

ITALIAN MEDICS EXPELLED FROM BEIRUT CAMP HOSPITAL

by Livia Rokach

ROME — The Christmas present of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to the Palestinian population of the refugee camps of West Beirut consisted of the **de facto** expulsion of an entire civilian voluntary team of Italian doctors and nurses who had repaired and made function the Akka hospital. The 11 Italian doctors, mainly surgeons and orthopedicians, and the four nurses who ran Akka hospital as an organic team and also helped out in other improvised centres in West Beirut in which Palestinians and the poor Lebanese war victims received medical treatment, were told their visas could not be renewed and that no other Italian medical personnel would be allowed to replace them because "we don't need you here; Lebanon is not an underdeveloped country and our doctors are as good as you are."

The decision to send away the Italian medical teams was taken personally by Amin Gemayel against the view of Lebanese Health Minister Adnan Murroueh who wanted them to stay and despite the pleadings of the Italian Ambassador to Beirut. After much haggling only two team doctors were allowed to stay on a temporary basis to look after the emergency needs of hordes of patients who had been operated in the last week or equipped with artificial limbs.

Patients which the team is forced to leave behind will need further operations and intensive treatment in months to come. There are also many hundreds of persons whose treatments have not started. This number includes children who had limbs amputated during the war after having been wounded by cluster or fragmentation bombs. Others are crippled and need around-the-clock and complicated treatment.

Akka hospital is now being run by Lebanese personnel who are judged "highly incompetent" by the Italian team and ask for "fabulous sums" for mere admittance to the hospital. The fact that the Italians were treating the Palestinians and the poor Lebanese **gratis** was viewed with utmost hostility by their Lebanese collegues. The main reason for the banning of the Italian medical team is, of course, to be found in the determination of the Lebanese ruling right to render the lives of the Palestinian camp population in West Beirut impossible, thereby forcing them to leave. At the same time their expulsion eliminates the presence of foreign witnesses to the constant harassment to which this population is again increasingly subject. An ominous sign in this sense consists of a decision to transform Akkar hospital into a hotel. Once it is transformed into a tourist enterprise locals are convinced it will be decided that the landscape of the refugee camp now surrounding the building is inadequate for the pleasure seeking eyes of the business delegations visiting Beirut to look after "reconstruction affairs."

Following the **de facto** expulsion of the Italian medical personnel from Akka hospital, entire camps area from Sabra and Shatila to Burj al-Barajneh is served only by Gaza hospital, and by the Italian military field hospital on the edge of Sabra camp. The personnel at Gaza Hospital consists of a heterogeneous presence of simple doctors from various countries with no homogeneous organisational basis. The military hospital is officially prohibited from extending medical assistance to other than the members of the Italian military force present in the area, but does so all the same, more or less clandestinely. However, for reasons of equipment as well as for those of status, the field hospital can deal only with emergency or first aid cases, or with intenstinal problems. It cannot replace a regular hospital nor offer long-term treatment.

The Italian team set up in Akka hospital a surgery room equipped with the most advanced instruments worth millions of dollars which were contributed by the solidarity committees of three Italians regions. All this equipment now remains in the hands of Lebanese personnel.

In an exclusive interview with **Al Fajr**, Professor Walter Cavannari from the Sancaminno hospital in Rome who headed the orthopedic unit of the team told us the Italian medical personnel was presented a fait accompli and deprived of any possibility to appeal their case.

Asked if they couldn't point out that the Palestinian population badly needed their assistance, he replied, 'In Beirut you cannot even pronounce the word Palestinian. The Lebanese authorties pretend that the Palestinians don't and in any case should not — exist. Any foreigner who says the word 'Palestinians' is — at best — put by force on a plane and sent home. We claimed that we were there to help many poor people who needed our help, but the Lebanese authorities said that this was none of our business. They even maintained that the Lebanese have a social and medical assistance program which is, of course, a huge lie."

Al Fajr: **Was there no solidarity with your work on the part of the Lebanese doctors?**

"To be operated on by Lebanese surgeons costs at least something like US $6,500, an orthopedic intervention costs more than three times as much and for a patient who has been struck with a heart attack to be admitted costs over US $3000. The majority of Lebanese doctors consider this to be the only possible normal reality. There are some medical organisations close to the Lebanese national movement such as **Amen** who are working hard to take care of the needy population but they are working in difficult conditions and above all lack doctors. They in fact supported us and asked us to work for them but they have no power of decision and they were helpless in front of the decision of the authorities."

Al Fajr: **What is the situation in the Palestinian camps in West Beirut?**

"We were not allowed to enter the camps so our information is limited to what we could see from the outskirts, from the hospital observation points and from what some of our patients told us. Based on these data the picture which emerges is very depressing, very poor. In the first place this population lives in a constant state of terror. The people — mostly women and children — are permanently in hiding. The trauma of the massacres is not over. Since the massacres, of which public opinion is informed, there have been innumerable episodes of horror perpetrated by Lebanese officials, the so-called security forces, as well as by the Phalangists of which no one has spoken.

"At Akka hospital just before we arrived and more than a month after the big massacres, medical personnel had been kidnapped, killed, tortured, raped. In the camps, episodes of kidnapping and of illegal arrests continue to take place. People disappear. The greatest terror of the Palestinians living in one of the camps is to disappear. To be taken away and vanish into thin air.

"This is not a hysterical state of mind. It's reality. The issue of the Palestinians 'disappearing' in West Beirut is something very terrible. It is on people's minds the whole time. Therefore, people don't go out of the camp ever. They try to stay home as much as possible. Home . . . The people of the camp live in a sea of ruins. They are not allowed to as much as breath the air. They do what they can to arrange for themselves some shelter among the ruins. Since Autumn they are practically living in water, in constant damp.

"However, the terror is stronger than anything. There are many people who need medical help, who were wounded and live on with the risk of infection of gangrene who must be treated if they are to survive, and if their survival is to mean any future activity at all. But most of them are afraid even to cross the 50 meters separating the camp gates from Akka hospital and they can't be blamed because these 50 meters always swarm with armed Lebanese ready to jump over to carry away anyone who would sticks his nose out of the camp. This is why we actually got only the most desperate cases. Mostly women and very young children. The others, having to make a choice between coming to the hospital and the risk of seeing their limbs rot, prefer the latter."

Al Fajr: **Why were these 50 meters not protected by the multinational troops?**

"Because the Lebanese government and army decided other wise."

Al Fajr: **How would you define the behaviour of the Lebanese army? You had problems, they stole your medicine. . . .?**

"The Lebanese army sent commandos into the camps permeated with hate for the Palestinians. The officers commanding these units are often drugged. Like horses sent to battle, they behave like criminals, they act ruggedly and are corrupt. That Captain Najjar who emptied the medicine deposits and carried away everything on three huge trucks was a typical specimen. But these people are protected by the political powers. When our ambassador went to protest for the theft of the medicines, president Gemayel tried to deny that this episode ever took place. When all the facts were placed before him he still tried to deny it. In the end, because of the many protests, he had some of the stuff sent back. Less than half, however, of which was stolen."

Al Fajr: **What about the multinational troops? Do they intervene against the kidnappings?**

"The Italian troops have orders to prevent violence against people, so more than once they intervened to stop the Lebanese from beating a person while they were taking them away. But they are not authorised to stop the Lebanese military from arresting people. So these people are taken away and beaten out of sight of our soldiers. As for the other troops they don't intervene as much people say."

Al Fajr: **Is there anti-Palestinian violence in West Beirut outside the camps?**

"We saw people being stopped in the streets and asked for their documents. When they produced their documents that were perfectly in order, the officer took them and put them in his pocket without a word. I'll never forget the face of the man pushing a food cart who was deprived in this way of his ID card. He had the helplessness and the hopeless look of someone who from that point on would inevitably be exposed to the worst of everything. Of someone who had been deprived of the last fragile psychological sense of security.

"In Hamra I saw three young boys being ferociously beaten by the Lebanese military and thrown onto a half truck. I don't know if they were Palestinians, but these things happen all the time.

Al Fajr: **What will you do now for patients you left behind?**

"The patients whose treatment was started must be allowed to be brought over to Italy for the completion of their cure. We will insist on that. There are difficulties, in the meantime, on the part of the Lebanese authorities in particular. Many people are afraid that (if they) go away and leave their families behind (they may) not be permitted to go back. As for the rest we intend to organise in the next few days to discuss with the Italian authorities to try to see what can be done. Many Italian doctors and nurses have registered to go over there to replace us. They are asking insistently to go and serve in Lebanon. But I am very pessimistic. The Palestinian population in the design of the Lebanese government is destined to remain . . . without medical assistance.

"A member of the banned Italian medical team is expected to denounce the attitude of the Lebanese authority toward the Palestinian population in West Beirut to the international conference on "The Right to Health of the Palestinian people" which will be held in Paris on January 8 and 9.

"The conference is organised by the French Palestinian Medical Aid Association."